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A Byzantine Adam:  
Explicating the *Suda*'s Encomiastic Entry on Adam.

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April 23, 2014

## Introduction

In the past century many Biblical stories have faded from our common, collective knowledge. The evolution of Western society's interests has confined the recognition of names such as Bathsheba, Ishmael, and Lazarus to the congregationally religious and the highly educated. But there are some figures, such as Adam, that the tide has not washed away. Adam's survival in our cultural memory is not due to his prominence in the Bible alone. In fact, of the 24 Books that make up the Tanakh, the Jewish Bible, the story of Adam makes up only a few thin pages. For our culture today, it is not so much that we have chosen to remember Adam, but rather that we cannot forget him. From paintings, to poetry, to cinema, to vernacular speech, Adam stands at the center of a complex network of associations and mental relationships that each member of our Western culture has in common. He is at the foundation of a cultural edifice that we ourselves have constructed. Between serious adaptations and irreverent comedies, the story of Adam and Eve has found its way into cinema over a dozen times, and news networks and politicians increasingly apply, or misapply, the term "Original Sin" to any number of subjects. Michelangelo's "Creation of Man" has sealed in our memory the image of Adam's finger separated tantalizingly from the touch of his Creator. "Of Man's first disobedience and the Fruit," wrote Milton, "of that Forbidden Tree whose mortal taste/ brought death into the world and all our woe." Such cultural monuments as Milton's *Paradise Lost* or Michelangelo's "Creation of Man" have created a relationship within our culture between our understanding of the story of Adam and the poem or the fresco. So long

as we appreciate Milton, and so long as postcards decorated with scenes from the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel continue to be mailed, we must maintain some awareness of Adam's story in order to participate in our own culture, even at its lowest levels. And so long as our culture continues to produce more movies or poems or vernacular expressions, these cultural creations will continue to color our perception of the Adam narrative.

Many of us today think of Adam as the brawny man from Michelangelo's fresco and Eve as the painfully naïve woman of *Paradise Lost*, regardless of the Hebrew descriptions of the two present in the Old Testament. Yet for most of us, it is not the Creation of Man that defines our view of Adam, but the sinister, operatic climax of Adam's story. Since the days of St. Augustine, the apple, the snake and the Fall have become the dominant associations of Adam. The theological concepts grounding Latin Christianity and Protestantism have fashioned a very narrow lens through which we view the story of Adam. Rather than the "Creation of Man," it is a different scene on that same ceiling that characterizes our immediate image of Adam: the "Temptation and Expulsion from Paradise."

I have begun my exploration of Adam and the *Suda* with this brief summary of our own modern, Latin-Christian view of Adam, because it is from this view that the *Suda's* entry is so conspicuous. In this presentation, Adam is not the villain but the hero. He is saintly, he faces evil and, with the intervention of Christ, he is triumphant. This is a version that cannot fit into the cultural paradigm for Adam that the West has erected. Nor, for that matter, can it fit into the cultural paradigm as we understand it for the Medieval West. As we shall see, however, it is the context of the



Adam entry in the *Suda* and the Byzantine cultural paradigm for Adam that account for this presentation. Yet, despite the wealth of information on theology, religion, and rhetoric in Byzantium, there has not been a single study on the Byzantine understanding of Adam, his role in Byzantine culture, or his importance to Byzantine religion. Because an understanding of Adam in Byzantium is necessary for any attempt to understand the Adam entry in the *Suda*, the study of Adam in the *Suda* can be used to open a discussion on a profoundly important facet of Byzantine civilization.

This paper will be divided into three parts. The first chapter will introduce the *Suda* and the obstacles that must be overcome to make sense of the Adam entry. The following chapter will explore the role of rhetoric in the Adam entry in order to better understand what affect this may have on its presentation of Adam. The last chapter provides an overview of Adam in Byzantine culture, which will prove to be the best help to the understanding of the entry as a whole. At the end of this paper I have included an appendix which contains the text and translation of the Adam entry.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I use the term Adam entry to refer to the “λόγος” that accounts for nearly the entirety of *Suidas* A 425. For what I include as the “speech” or “λόγος,” see Chapter 1.

## Chapter I

### The *Suda* and the Adam Entry

Before examining the *Suda*'s entry on Adam in greater detail, it will be useful to provide a basic overview of the *Suda*, the Adam entry, and the difficulties that must be overcome in order to elucidate this entry.

The *Suda*'s entry on Adam is but one of 30,000 entries within the massive Lexicon-Encyclopedia known variously as “Σούδα” or “Σουίδα.”<sup>2</sup> An unknown scholar or team of scholars began compiling the *Suda* in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, sometime during or after the reign of Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959).<sup>3</sup> Unlike earlier lexica, such as the *Lexicon* by Photius (c. 810- c. 893),<sup>4</sup> the *Suda* typically does not merely define its lemmata (headwords), but provides literary quotations and excerpts to capture words in their context. Yet the *Suda* frequently borrows the brief definitions found in these earlier lexica for its own entries. The *Suda*'s entries are therefore often composites of various authors and sources, which are typically extracted without citation or any indication that the work is not the original scholarship of the *Suda* whatsoever.<sup>5</sup> Because the *Suda* provides entries embellished

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<sup>2</sup> Debate on the *Suda*'s name has existed since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For our purposes here, let it suffice to say that the name *Suda* has become the standard in English publications and that the argument for the name *Suda* has been convincingly demonstrated since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It should be noted that the matter has not been entirely settled, for proponents of *Suidas* can still be found. E.g. Bertrand Hemmerdinger, “Suidas, et non la Souda,” in *Bollettino dei classici* 19 (1998).

<sup>3</sup> Karl Krumbacher notes that the work can be securely dated to the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and that it must have been in use by 976. Karl Krumbacher, *Die Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur* (München: Beck, 1891), 563.

<sup>4</sup> Eleanor Dickey summarizes Photius' *Lexicon* well: “The work is huge and concerned chiefly with prose words, though a number of items from Old Comedy also appear.” Eleanor Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 101.

<sup>5</sup> I have personified the *Suda* here; of course I mean to say “the author or authors of the *Suda*.” For the sake of concision I will continue to refer to the *Suda* as if it itself had agency. I will occasionally refer

with fragments from a much wider selection of authors than are extant today, it has become duly famous as a repository of rare knowledge of the Classical world.<sup>6</sup> Because of its infamous propensity to include large citations from ancient and Byzantine sources, the entries of the *Suda* are often magnitudes larger than those of its lexical predecessors. Often, the *Suda* will gloss a word over a several lines, where earlier lexica provided only a few words. The *Suda* is also unique in the breadth of what it chooses to define. The range of its lemmata exceeds the boundaries of earlier lexica and often those of our modern dictionaries; examples of headwords include sound effects found in the work of Aristophanes, such as “Ἀπαπαί,”<sup>7</sup> expletives, such as “Κίναϊδος,”<sup>8</sup> as well as works of literature and historical, mythical or Biblical figures. The *Suda*’s entry on Adam naturally belongs to this last category; however, the Adam entry is unusual even relative to the eclectic and often idiosyncratic compilation of the *Suda*.

The entry on Adam is massive relative to other entries in the *Suda*, which rarely exceed three or four lines. In the standard Ada Adler (1928-1938) text of the *Suda*, the Adam entry spans 985 words.<sup>9</sup> The content, however, is even more

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to the “compilers” of the *Suda*. As the *Suda* was obviously edited over time, I feel this is an appropriate designation.

<sup>6</sup> This fame has existed since the early days of modern scholarship. Karl Krumbacher framed his lamentable sentiment that the *Suda*’s primary value was in its citations beautifully: “Sie beziehen sich auf die verschiedensten Wissensgebiete, wie Philosophie, Naturwissenschaften, Geographie, Geschichte u.s.w. Unter allen ragen aber durch ihren unschätzbaren Wert die literarhistorischen Artikel hervor; sie sind der Purpurmantel, welcher gar viele Schwächen und Sünden der übrigen Teile zudeckt; sie erheben den *Suidas* zu einem der wichtigsten Denkmäler der ganzen byzantinischen Zeit, zu einem wenigstens fragmentarischen Ersatze für zahllose sonst verlorene Nachrichten von Autoren und Werken.” Krumbacher, *Die Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur*, 563.

<sup>7</sup> *Suidas* A 2919.

<sup>8</sup> *Suidas* K 1635.

<sup>9</sup> Ada Adler’s text is indisputably a masterpiece. Ada Adler, *Suidae Lexicon*, (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1928-1938). I have reprinted Ada Adler’s text for the Adam entry in the Appendix.

striking. The entry begins with a description of Adam before the Fall. Adam is first described as, “The first man, he who was molded by the hand of God and formed according to the image and likeness of his Craftsman and Creator, who was even worthy to have Paradise as his home.”<sup>10</sup> The author continues to heap praise on Adam, writing that “He may justly be called the first wise man, since he is a first-formed statue and a God-wrought image, entirely full of all the graces that exist and displaying all the pure and unadulterated faculties of both soul and body.”<sup>11</sup> So holy is he, and so full of divine energy, that radiant beams emit from his soul;<sup>12</sup> his judgment too is flawless, not like the mortals we know.<sup>13</sup> The author then cites the Genesis account of Adam’s naming of the animals as evidence of Adam’s unparalleled wisdom.<sup>14</sup> But the author does not stop there, for it is not just Adam’s transcendent knowledge of animals that should impress us, but his knowledge of plants and all living beings as well.<sup>15</sup> Quoting Scripture again, the author then relates Adam’s miraculous role in the creation of woman.<sup>16</sup> After noting that Adam also deserves the credit for perfections of measurement,<sup>17</sup> the author transitions to his discussion of the Fall.

Adam was the perfect image, writes the author, but mankind traveled ever further from that image, until the devil at last toppled (ἐξεκύλισεν) Adam:

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<sup>10</sup> *Sermo in Adam* 1. See Appendix for Greek text and translation. I have given the part of the Adam entry that the author calls a “λόγος” the title *Sermo in Adam*. See below and Appendix for what is referred to by the term “λόγος.” All translations throughout this work are my own.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 1

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 1

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 2

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 2

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 3

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 3

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 4

He is the first one in human form, the image summoned by God, from whom each creation of a human image receives its model, though it falls more and more to a level inferior to that blessed and Godlike copy which no sculptor or painter could use as a starting point, until the Murderer and Apostate and deceiving Devil overthrew him from both his proper abode and state and caused him to be born headlong into those abyssal and lightless places approaching even as far as the most gloomy vaults of Hades.<sup>18</sup>

With the Fall, the soul of mankind becomes revalued (παραχαράττεσθαι) and shaped by the devil.<sup>19</sup> A “bastard wisdom” invades the minds of men,<sup>20</sup> the devil sets up the pagan gods,<sup>21</sup> and the various followers of these gods and of Hellenic learning such as Hesiod, Socrates and Plato, gain status and prominence.<sup>22</sup>

But it was then, the author continues, that Christ, after the Passion, descended into the deepest places of Hades to rescue Adam, the first of the worthy:

But, the only begotten Son of God and Logos who predates time, having taken pity on the man, since he was deceived by the Dragon from the bosom of the Father, emptied Himself and became incarnate through the Holy Spirit and through the Holy Virgin and Theotokos Mary. And after defeating the Antagonist through the esteemed cross and His passion, and after going down into the deepest parts of the earth, He freed the first-formed one, who had gone astray, restoring the first beauty to his image and the original worthiness to his nature.<sup>23</sup>

The power of the devil is then undone by the Light, through which true wisdom returns to the world once again and through which Paul is brought into the Third Heaven.<sup>24</sup> The author then brings more holy men to the fore in wake of Christ’s triumph:

From there Peter named Christ the Son of the Living God and is entrusted with the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, so that he might open the entrance to the Divine Palace for the faithful, but bar it before the unfaithful. From there the herds of martyrs throw down the idols and rush toward death entirely prepared, triumphantly bearing their blows like crowns and their own blood like purple.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 5

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 6

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 6

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 6-7

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 7-8

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. 9

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 10

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 11

After mentioning these holy men the author returns in a crescendo of praise to Adam, who shares in the credit of this glorious story and has served as the inspiration for the author's "λόγος": "Truly let the first-formed man be known as the cause of this writing, according to my measure and reckoning, as a river, a spring and sea, and root and branches and shoots, and the originator of all human nature, the first fruit and first-fruit of the offering."<sup>26</sup>

This "λόγος" forms the vast majority of the *Suda*'s entry on Adam and will be the subject of this inquiry; however, it is not the end of the entry as a whole. After this "λόγος," there follows a brief chronology, wherein the years separating one historical landmark from another are given. The chronology begins with the time of Adam, continues with events and figures from the Old Testament, moving then to Alexander the Great, Christ, Constantine and several other Byzantine Emperors finishing with John Tzimiskes. Lastly, after this chronology, there is a four-word gloss of the word "Ἀδαμιαῖος," which means "from Adam."<sup>27</sup>

The entry as a whole can therefore be divided into three parts: 1) The lengthy "λόγος" on Adam that makes up the vast majority of the entry; 2) the twelve-line chronology from Adam to John Tzimiskes; 3) the four-word note that Ἀδαμιαῖος means "from Adam." These three parts could easily have been compiled by a single person, but they are clearly the result of multiple sources. In its overview of the *Suda*'s sources, the Pauly-Wissowa article on the *Suda*, which remains one of the best overviews of scholarship on the *Suda*, provides the only scholarly comment on

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 12

<sup>27</sup> *Suidas* A 425: "And 'Adamaian' means 'from Adam.'" καὶ Ἀδαμιαῖος, ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ.

the authorship of the Adam entry: “Longer, inspiring, highly rhetorical Articles, such as Ἀβραάμ, Ἀδάμ, Ἰώβ are in a category entirely their own, perhaps composed just for the *Suda*. In any case, they are Byzantine.”<sup>28</sup> That the “λόγος” was the work of the *Suda* author himself seems doubtful, as there is no precedent of original composition by the *Suda* compilers on a scale comparable to what we see in the Adam entry.<sup>29</sup> We can, however, be certain that the compilers of the *Suda* relied upon more than one source for writing the entry as a whole. Adler identifies the chronological account (part 2) as deriving from the *Chronicon* of George the Monk, a common source for the *Suda*.<sup>30</sup> The “λόγος” and the four-word note on Ἀδαμιαῖος are certainly not from the *Chronicon*, and clearly reflect borrowings from other sources. As the note on Ἀδαμιαῖος is indisputably a gloss that bears no similarity with the “λόγος” that makes up the majority of the entry, it is safe to assume that the “λόγος” was borrowed from a separate source. Accordingly, in attempting to understand this “λόγος” it is necessary to treat it not as a section of an entry in the

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<sup>28</sup> “Längere erbauliche, sehr rhetorische Artikel, Ἀβραάμ, Ἀδάμ, Ἰώβ, wohl alle von demselben, vielleicht von S. selbst, jedenfalls byzantinisch.” *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterumswissenschaft: neue Bearbeitung*, eds. August Pauly et al., s.v. “Suda.”

<sup>29</sup> While an original composition on the scale of the *Suda* entry’s λόγος seems unlikely, there is nothing to rule out this possibility entirely. As mentioned above, the *Suda* is idiosyncratic, and absolute statements about the style of its composition merit skepticism.

<sup>30</sup> Adler, *Suidae Lexicon*, s.v. Adam. Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, C. Bo., 804.1-15 (for abbreviations of textual editions, see Bibliography). George the Monk is the *Suda*’s favorite source on matters of Christian and Byzantine history: “Für die christlich-byzantinische Zeit, für welche die konstantinischen Exzerpte wohl nicht mehr ausreichten, benützte Suidas, wie C. de Boor nachgewissen hat, vor allem die Chronik des Georgios Monachos, freilich nicht in der von Murlalt edierten Überarbeitung, sondern in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt.” Krumbacher, *Der Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur*, 566. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterumswissenschaft: neue Bearbeitung*, eds. August Pauly et al., s.v. “Suda.”

*Suda*, but as a complete document that was placed into the context of the Adam entry.<sup>31</sup>

Although we cannot be sure of the authorship of the “λόγος,” we can be slightly more precise with its date. The author’s use of the word “θεότοκος” to describe Mary offers a terminus post quem of the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century, as the word is not attested before the works of Origen.<sup>32</sup> While the vehemence of the author’s anti-pagan rhetoric might suggest the entry dates to late antiquity, the ambivalence of the Byzantines toward their Classical heritage, especially before the 10<sup>th</sup> century, excludes any certainty on this point.<sup>33</sup> Lastly, the author’s familiarity with a more detailed version of the Harrowing of Hell also points toward a date of at least Late Antiquity, when comprehensive accounts of the narrative became more common.<sup>34</sup> A safe conclusion can therefore be made that the source of the “λόγος” in the Adam entry was likely not written before late antiquity, but could have been written throughout the Byzantine period, up to a time contemporary to the *Suda*.

Regardless of its precise date and authorship, the Adam entry can be analyzed from the cultural perspective of Byzantium and the late antique Eastern Roman Empire. In Chapter Two, we will trace the development of rhetorical forms

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<sup>31</sup> Even if, unlikely as it is, the “λόγος” were written for the *Suda*, it would be no less structurally independent than had the *Suda* borrowed it from some other source.

<sup>32</sup> *Sermo in Adam*, 9.

<sup>33</sup> For a good account of this ambivalence, see Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 173-187.

<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, these accounts are themselves frequently of uncertain chronology. *The Easter Oration* of Pseudo-Epiphanius likely dates to at least the sixth century. Based on its similarity to the Gospel of Nicodemus, the entry was given a date of after the sixth century. J.A. MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell: A Comparative Study of an Early Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1930), 192. G.C. O’Ceallaigh suggests the date of the Gospel of Nicodemus to post 555. G.C. O’Ceallaigh, “Dating the Commentaries of Nicodemus,” *The Harvard Theological Review* 56 no. 1 (1963). The collection of homilies ascribed to Eusebius of Alexandria likely dates to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 180.



from Late Antiquity to the early Byzantine Period in order to find precedents for the sort of rhetoric found in the Adam entry. By examining rhetoric that emerges out of a literary intermingling of the homily, hagiography, and Classical rhetorical models, we can view the *Suda*'s entry on Adam as more than merely an encomium. Instead, it becomes clear that the author is using praise of Adam in order to send a didactic message on Christian virtues and the Christian cosmic history. The goal of the author's "λόγος" is not merely to praise Adam, but rather to emotively and artistically communicate the major elements of the Christian message as he sees it, setting up Adam as the glorious protagonist in the narrative of Christian cosmic history.

An examination of the Adam entry will not, however, explain how the author of the Adam entry can expect his audience to view Adam in so positive a light. If the author is attempting to relay this didactic message about Christianity through an encomiastic narrative of Adam, we must assume that the author believed that his audience could share in the positive associations of Adam put forth in the entry. But what, then, is present in Byzantine culture that allows for such positive associations of Adam? The answer, which makes up the third chapter of this study, seems to lie in the Byzantine theological emphasis on ideas such as the *Imago Dei*, the idea that Adam was created in the Image of God, and the *Anastasis*, or Christ's resurrection of Adam during the Harrowing of Hell, coupled with a theology of the Fall that does not portray Adam as the primary cause of Sin and Death. By studying these aspects of Byzantine culture it is clear that an author could manipulate these shades of the

Byzantine understanding of Adam in order to create a highly laudatory and glorious portrait of him, as the author of the Adam entry in the *Suda* clearly does.

By the end of this study, it should be clear that the long “λόγος” in the *Suda* entry on Adam is neither heretical nor inexplicable, impressive and exceptional though it certainly is. The Adam entry is instead a brilliant icon of Byzantine culture, gilded in rhetoric, shrouded in theology, exotic and foreign to the West. The only way to understand the Adam entry is to discover the elements of Byzantine culture in which it is grounded, and to make ourselves into the audience that the author intended, over a millennium ago, in a world ruled from Constantinople.

## Chapter II

### Rhetoric in the Adam Entry

The key to interpreting the *Suda*'s entry on Adam lies in its use of rhetoric. Larger questions that the Adam entry raises, namely the role of Adam in Byzantium, cannot be addressed without first mapping the winding rhetorical road along which the author leads his audience. Through his narrative of Adam's life, the author guides his readers through the main tenets of Christian cosmic history, introducing the reader to Christian virtues and Pagan vices along the way. To uncover this rhetorical trail, we must identify whether the author's "λόγος" can be associated with any particular rhetorical form, distinguish what, if anything, separates the entry from the conventions of late antique and Byzantine rhetoric, and then seek parallels that will help in explaining these differences.

As we shall see, the rhetoric of the Adam entry does not fit neatly into any category found in Late Antiquity or Byzantium. The entry is clearly a product of epideictic rhetoric, but what sort is not immediately obvious. Despite some common traits, the entry is not itself a manifestation of the *progymnasmata*, the rhetorical training exercises which also influence the construction of larger rhetorical structures; it does, however, resemble another form of rhetoric known as the "Christian *Vita*." While the entry's similarity to the "Christian *Vita*," a genre that evolves out of a union between panegyric and hagiography, does indicate a potential literary ancestor for the entry, the differences between the two become inexplicable if we view the Adam entry merely as a Christian *Vita*. Instead of focusing entirely on the life of a saintly figure, as is characteristic of Christian *Vitae*, the Adam entry contains digressions away from Adam and ignores key aspects of his life. In

order to account for these deviations, we must look to the homily, and specifically to the homilies of St. John Chrysostom. John often uses encomium not merely to praise his subject, but to discuss more general Christian issues through the personal, narrative presentation it engenders. This amalgam of the Christian *Vita* and the homily evidenced in the work of John can provide a hermeneutic for understanding the Adam entry that accounts for both the author's encomiastic portrayal of Adam as well as his digressions on Evil and his obvious exclusion of details from the Biblical life of Adam.

### **The Encomium**

Part of the difficulty in determining how we should view the Adam entry's use of rhetoric derives from the loose categories of encomium that existed in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. The author's focus on Adam and his frequent argumentation that Adam deserves our praise place the entry clearly in the domain of epideictic rhetoric,<sup>35</sup> the category that contains rhetoric of praise or condemnation.<sup>36</sup> What exact form of epideictic rhetoric the entry takes, however, is far less obvious. The most basic and most rigidly defined categories of epideictic rhetoric are provided by the authors of *progymnasmata* in the form of the "psogos," or invective, and the "encomium," or speech of praise. Because the *progymnasmata* were designed to demonstrate to students what was involved in certain rhetorical forms, the authors of *progymnasmata* were unusually meticulous about

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<sup>35</sup> This is evident in the entry's tone and content. E.g. *Sermo in Adam* 1 et alia: the author's argument that Adam is "the first truly wise man," including his discourse on the naming the animals; the emphasis on Adam's creation in the Image of God; the argument that Adam was worthy to live in Paradise.

<sup>36</sup> Epideictic rhetoric usually praises or condemns individuals, but can also praise things or concepts; e.g. Lucian's essay "The Fly," wherein Lucian praises the oft-spurned insect; or Dio Chrysostom's playful "Encomium on Hair," which enlivens the boring subject of hair through an impressive array of literary allusions.

distinguishing between the various types of rhetoric, and they prescribed specific criteria to each.<sup>37</sup> The various facets of rhetoric were then presented to students, completely distilled of any traits that might place it into another category. However, though they agreed on a broader understanding of encomium, the authors of *progymnasmata* were not always in agreement about the minutiae of its categories, and accordingly have left behind no single definition of “encomium” that is entirely canonical.

If the Adam entry could be thought of as an encomium, its laudatory stance on Adam would be explained, for, we might think, it would be rhetorically impressive to create a positive image to a character who committed the first sin. In this view, the Adam entry would resemble progymnastic literature such as Dio Chrysostom’s “encomium on hair” or even Lucian’s “the Fly.” Perhaps the author, like Dio or Lucian, takes a subject that one would not expect to be praised (Adam), ignites it with his rhetorical flare, and coats it with his sophistry. This, however, is not the case. While the Adam entry is encomiastic, insofar as it praises Adam in several of the categories prescribed by the progymnastic authors, it does not adhere to their requirements. As mentioned earlier, each of the authors who comment on *progymnasmata* gives a distinct list of criteria for the encomium. Writing in the first century, Theon allows the author three categories of praise: 1: the mind and character (ψυχὴ καὶ ἦθος), which includes prudence, temperance, courage, justice, piety, generousness, magnanimity, among others; 2: the body (σῶμα), which includes health,

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<sup>37</sup> Among the most famous of these authors who provided detailed commentary about the various rhetorical forms in addition to authoring *progymnasmata* are Theon (1<sup>st</sup> C. AD); Hermogenes of Tarsus (2<sup>nd</sup> C. AD), whose works become included along with those of Aphthonius (second half of the fourth century) to form the Hermogenic Corpus, the standard rhetorical compendium of Late Antiquity and Byzantium; John of Sardis (9<sup>th</sup> century); Nicolaus of Myra (second half of fifth century); and John Doxapatres (11<sup>th</sup> century), among many others, whose works have now been lost. For a detailed history of the *progymnasmata* see the introduction of George Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

strength, beauty, and acuteness of sense; and 3: qualities external to the subject (τὰ ἔξωθεν), including noble birth, a virtuous home city, tribe and constitution, education, friendship, reputation, official position, wealth, good children, and good death.<sup>38</sup> In the second century Hermogenes of Tarsus allowed the author broader categories, which were also tailored specifically to a human subject, though now evidently concerned with a narrative presentation. For Hermogenes, encomiastic topics were, 1: national origin; 2: marvelous occurrences at birth; 3: how he was brought up (τροφή); 4: training (ἀγωγή); 5: nature of mind and body; 6: what pursuits and what sort of life the subject leads; 7: his deeds (which Hermogenes calls “τὸ δὲ κυριώτατον,” “the most important”); 8: externals (τὰ ἐκτός) such as luck, friends, relatives possessions and servants; 9: length of life; 10: death; 11: events after death (Hermogenes gives the example of marvelous funeral games).<sup>39</sup> In the second half of the fourth century, Aphthonius, the last progymnastic author I mention here, developed a criteria that shared the narrative focus with that of Hermogenes, though less restrictive in content while more prescriptive in structure. Aphthonius writes that the encomiast should, 1: construct a prooemion; 2: state the subject’s origin, including his nation, homeland and ancestors; 3: relate his upbringing (ἀνατροφήν), including his habits (ἐπιτηδεύματα), acquired skill (τέχνη), and principles of conduct (νόμους); 4: discuss his deeds (also considered the most important), including those of his mind, his body, and his fortune; 5: he should then make a comparison, to emphasize the superiority of his subject;

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<sup>38</sup> Aelius Theon, *Progymnasmata*, L. Speng., 109-111. He summarizes his belief in these three categories in 109-110: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖται, τῶν δὲ ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν περὶ ψυχὴν τε καὶ ἦθος, τὰ δὲ περὶ σῶμα, τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει, δῆλον ὅτι τὰ τρία ἂν εἴη ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν εὐπορήσομεν ἐγκωμιάζειν (And good things are praised most, and there are goods of the soul and character, of the body, and of things external to us, it is clear that these would be the three things from which we would proceed to craft an encomium.)

<sup>39</sup> Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata*, H. Rab. (1913), 7.

6: he should then write an epilogue.<sup>40</sup> Though these lists of an encomium's requirements may seem diverse, they all agree on the basics of the encomium: it should adhere to a list of praises about the subject, praising multiple aspects of his birth, his accomplishments, his physical beauty and his psychic beauty.

While the entry does include some of these elements requisite for an encomium, it diverges significantly from the encomium in structure and in content, lacking many requisite elements and containing ones foreign to the encomium. The author of the Adam entry does discuss his subject's birth, a requirement common to the three major progymnastic authors. Ignoring Athonius' insistence that a prooemion be included, the author of the Adam entry opens his encomium with Adam's miraculous creation by God: "The first man, he who was molded by the hand of God and formed according to the image and likeness of his Craftsman and Creator, who was even worthy to have Paradise as his home."<sup>41</sup> The author then devotes quite a few lines to an argument for Adam's exceptional wisdom, conforming to the progymnastic authors' requirement that the encomium praise the subject's psychic virtues.<sup>42</sup> But after this, the similarity between the Adam entry and the progymnastic encomium begins to fade. There is no commentary of Adam's physical prowess anywhere in the entry, a criterion present in all the writings of all three great progymnastic authors.<sup>43</sup> Nor does the Adam entry mention Adam's upbringing, his

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<sup>40</sup> Athonius, *Progymnasmata*, H. Rab. (1926), 20-22.

<sup>41</sup> *Sermo in Adam* 1.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 1-3. It should be noted that the author presents this as an argument, not merely a statement of fact. He asserts early on in the "λόγος" that Adam should be considered the "first wise man," and then goes on to cite two Biblical events as evidence of this wisdom, Adam's naming of the animals and then his naming of the plants.

<sup>43</sup> There are examples of encomia where the author steers away from the physical to emphasize the psychic prowess of an individual. See Robert J. Panella, "Themistius's Rhetoric of Praise," in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, ed. Thomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 198.

pursuits, or his “externals” (τὰ ἔξωθεν). While the absence of one or even several of the specific criteria of an encomium can be found in progymnastic encomia and is even prescribed if its inclusion would harm the image of the subject,<sup>44</sup> the lack of so many criteria is indeed unusual.

The Adam entry’s structure sets it securely apart from other *progymnasmata*, for imbedded in a longer praise of Adam there is a lengthy diatribe against the devil and παιδεία, or Greek learning and learned culture. After describing Satan’s victory over Adam, the author enumerates various reprobates who rose along to positions of power under the new, satanic world order:

And after that the deceiver usurped the name of God and cut it into many parts, calling himself Kronos and Zeus and Poseidon; and, the most unholy thing of all, the sinner dared to debase the blessed and unspeakable nature to female and ignoble names, and into those “Reas” and “Aphrodites” and “Athenas” and into myriad others and unusual kinds and forms of irrationalities, which the creator of evil and the sufferer of apostasy invented and carved out.

From there those lascivious tales of the Egyptians about Osiris and Typhon and Isis, and the magical trickery of Persians and the gymnosophistry and importunate fantasies of Brahmen and the ridiculous legend of the Skythians and the passions of the Thracians and the flutes of the Phrygians and Korybantes. From there the perilous and painful astronomy of the Chaldaians. From there poetry, the midwife of lies, the pride of Hellene nonsense. From there Orpheus and Homer and the artist of unlawful procreation Hesiod. From there the opinion of Thales and the famed Pythagoras and the wise Socrates and Plato, the notorious gem of the Athenian Academy. From there those like Parmenides and Protagoras and Zeno. From there the Stoics and the Areopagites and the Epicureans. From there the dirges and wails of tragedy and the sport and jeers of Comedians. From there the deceit of Apollo and the oracles of liars and the remaining gibberish of Hellenes inventions and fairy tales.<sup>45</sup>

Though this section of the Adam entry does not fit perfectly into the category of the *psogos*, the mirror image of the encomium, it is obviously a digression away from the encomiastic

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<sup>44</sup> E.g. Theon, *Progymnasmata*, L. Speng., 112: “And as for calumny towards the subject, one should either refrain from mentioning it, as it conjures up recollections of his faults, or one should mention it secretly and stealthily as far as one is able, lest we lose focus and craft an apology in an encomium’s stead.” “τὰς δὲ διαβολὰς ἣ οὐ δεῖ λέγειν· ἀνάμνησις γὰρ γίνεται τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων· ἢ ὥς οἶόν τε λάθρα καὶ ἀποκεκρυμμένως, μὴ λάθωμεν ἀπολογίαν ἀντ’ ἐγκωμίου ποιήσαντες.”

<sup>45</sup> *Sermo in Adam* 6-7. Though the entire *psogos* could not be restated here, it is worth quoting a section of this *psogos* at length for the sake of its contumelious content as well as its length.



beginning and conclusion of the Adam entry and toward the realm of invective.<sup>46</sup> With an invective that contributes to nearly a third of the entry's length, the Adam entry does not resemble the *progymnasmata*, which are distilled facets of rhetoric by their nature. While the *progymnasma* attempt to isolate a specific quality of rhetoric such as praise, or invective, or description, and turn that one facet into a stand-alone composition, the Adam entry combines several of these specific rhetorical elements to form one longer composition. The Adam entry is a composite, built out of two separate rhetorical strands: a form of *psogos* and the longer encomiastic discussion of Adam. While the encomiastic narrative of Adam provides motion and structural unity to the entry, viewing the entry as a progymnastic encomium simply leaves too much of the entry unaccounted for.

But if the entry is a composite, what sort of composite is it? The difficulty in answering this question is compounded by the fluidity of ancient categories of rhetoric. As mentioned above, it is certain that this entry falls into the broad category of epideictic rhetoric. Apart from the *progymnasmata*, however, the uses of epideictic rhetoric were many, various, and loosely defined. As George Kennedy summarizes, "No canonical list of the forms such as we find in the case of *progymnasmata* was developed in late antiquity; sophists continually experimented with new adaptations, some of which were taken over into Christian preaching."<sup>47</sup> When dealing with composite rhetoric as opposed to a distilled rhetorical unit such as a *progymnasma*, it becomes necessary to shift one's method of

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<sup>46</sup> In fact, the *psogos* is not quite as rigidly defined as the encomium and most progymnastic authors devote little more than a sentence to the discussion of the *psogos*, describing it merely as the opposite of the encomium. For example, Theon, after describing how to praise a subject in an encomium merely adds at the end: "With these things we praise, and from their opposite we create a *psogos*." "Ἐκ μὲν τούτων ἐπαινεσόμεθα, ψέξομεν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων." Theon, *Progymnasmata*, L. Speng., 112.

<sup>47</sup> George Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric Under Christian Emperors*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 70.

classification from structural rhetorical form to the actual application of rhetorical compositions. In order to unearth the intent that undergirds the formal rhetoric in the entry we must venture away from analyzing rhetorical forms in antiquity and look instead to the Christian adoption of them in new genres of literature, specifically, the genre known as the “Christian *Vita*.”

### **The Christian Vita**

As the scholarly identification of the “Christian *Vita*” is rather recent, and the boundaries of its definition far from rigid, it is worth clarifying what precisely is meant by this term.<sup>48</sup> As its name suggests, the Christian *Vita* is inseparable from its historical and cultural context. It is a form of rhetorical discourse designed to meet the specific needs of a Christian population growing in power and number. But the roots of the Christian *Vita* lie in Classical rhetoric. By adopting elements from the highly developed Classical rhetorical system to adorn material that would otherwise have belonged solely to the domain of hagiography, the authors of Christian *Vitae* created a genre that could appeal to an increasingly educated, aristocratic and powerful class of Christians. Armed with this new genre, these authors were able to preserve, and even revitalize, the topic of the lives of saints in the new epoch of a Christian Rome.

The Christian *Vita* itself can be thought of as a subgenre of hagiography, a genre which, broadly defined, refers to any eulogistic text that narrates the life of a saint or holy

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<sup>48</sup> The first two scholars to identify this sort of discourse as unique were Timothy Barnes and Averil Cameron, the latter giving the genre the title I have used. Timothy Barnes, “Panegyric, History, and Hagiography in Eusebius’ Life of Constantine,” in *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick*, ed. Rowan Williams (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), 110. Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 57.

man.<sup>49</sup> Until the fourth century, this sort of literature had primarily been written by first- or second-hand witnesses to the lives of holy men, whose primary concern was to relate a true account of the deeds of saints on earth. With the end of Christian persecutions in the fourth century, the genre of hagiography was forced to adapt to the sudden lack of martyrs. Timothy Barnes notes two consequences of this: first, holy men increasingly replaced martyrs as the subject of hagiographic works; second, hagiographers increasingly “embroidered” older stories of saints or invented new ones all together.<sup>50</sup> Looking back to pagan rhetoric as a guide for the ornamentation of older Christian hagiographic subjects, these Christian embroiderers created a new genre that reconciled Christianity with pagan rhetoric.

But the lives of hermits and martyrs were not the only subjects of Christian *Vitae*.<sup>51</sup> While the manifestations of the Christian *Vita* proved to be as multifarious as traditional pagan forms of epideictic rhetoric, perhaps the most iconic example of the Christian *Vita* can be found in Eusebius’ *Life of Constantine*. Averil Cameron describes Eusebius as “deliberately trying to combine typically Christian elements with the technical requirement of high style demanded of an imperial panegyric.”<sup>52</sup> Yet it is worth noting that Eusebius did not merely format his Christian topic to fit into the parameters of pre-existing Pagan templates. Instead, Eusebius and his fellow Christian generic craftsmen constructed their

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<sup>49</sup> Claudia Rapp summarizes the relationship between panegyric and hagiography in her study comparing the portrayal of Moses in the two genres: “To study the relation of panegyric and hagiography *as genres* is therefore impossible. A more promising approach is to define each form of writing by its subject matter, panegyrics as praising emperors, hagiography as describing saints, and on this basis to explore the interconnections between the two” Claudia Rapp, “Comparison, Paradigm and the Case of Moses in Panegyric and Hagiography,” in *The Propaganda of Power*, ed. Mary Whitby (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 277.

<sup>50</sup> Timothy Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 154.

<sup>51</sup> Barnes, “Panegyric, History, and Hagiography in Eusebius’ *Life of Constantine*,” 110.

<sup>52</sup> Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, 56.

own templates using aspects of rhetoric and earlier Christian literature, such as hagiography. In fact, Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* was not only not modeled after the "Lives" of Classical literature like those of Plutarch and Suetonius, but it also displays no familiarity with Greek historiography whatsoever.<sup>53</sup> The Christian *Vita* is not merely an old genre with a new subject matter, but is rather an amalgam of the new genre of hagiography with older rhetorical forms to fit new subject matter that could not be contained in any single older genre.

Though the Adam entry does not fit neatly into the genre of the Christian *Vita*, it does share similarities with the Christian *Vita* that can advance our understanding of the entry. As mentioned above, the Adam entry clearly belongs to some sort of epideictic rhetoric that does not obviously resemble any classical model. A rhetorically embellished account of an Old Testament patriarch, the Adam entry would clearly also be an atypical piece of hagiography, which tends to record in more plain language the deeds of contemporary or near-contemporary saints. The Christian *Vita*, being a rhetorically embellished version of hagiography, might seem to fit perfectly with the Adam entry.

However, a closer look at the narrative introduces new difficulties in classifying the entry as a Christian *Vita*. First of all, if we accept that the primary aim of the Christian *Vita* is to create a laudatory narrative of its subject, viewing the Adam entry as a Christian *Vita* gets us no closer to understanding the intrusive *psogos*, for such a lengthy digression from the life of Adam seems just as out of place in the genre of the Christian *Vita* as it does in any piece of epideictic rhetoric. Additionally, the author of the Adam entry does not merely follow the life of Adam as related in Genesis. The author does not mention Adam's children

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<sup>53</sup> Barnes, "Panegyric, History, and Hagiography in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*," 110.

Cain and Abel, Adam's expulsion from Paradise, nor any events after the Fall whatsoever.<sup>54</sup> Instead, right before mentioning Adam's consumption of the fateful fruit,<sup>55</sup> the Suda author shifts the narrative of Adam's life as described in Genesis to a narrative of Adam's cosmic history, that is, his defeat by Satan, his rescue from Hell by Christ, and his relocation to heaven. This presentation of Adam is difficult to reconcile with the encomiastic and narrative demands of the Christian *Vita*. As the author is clearly comfortable leaving out elements of Adam's story, we are left to wonder why the author would not omit the most damning element of the story, the Fall, and focus entirely on Adam's existence in paradise.<sup>56</sup> That our author overlooked this conspicuous option is strong evidence that he did not consider praise of Adam the principal goal of his work. If the primary aim of the Christian *Vita* is indeed to create a narrative praise of its subject's life, we cannot explain the author's selection of events in Adam's life any more than we can explain why the author would include a lengthy and caustic *psogos* against Satan and Hellenism.

In order to explain these discrepancies, we must assume that the primary motivation of the Adam entry's author was not merely to create a narrative praise of the subject. Though the traditional understanding of epideictic rhetoric ascribes its purpose to the praise or condemnation of its subject, the idea that the Christian *Vita* transcends this simplistic goal is not novel. In her discussion on Christian *Vitae*, Averil Cameron argues that

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<sup>54</sup> Adam's descendants were closely associated with the narrative of his life. George the Monk, for example, a favorite source for the Suda, in his account of Adam mentions that he was created by God, and then goes on to list his descendants. Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, PG:110:48. (vol 110 page 48).

<sup>55</sup> *Sermo in Adam* 4-5.

<sup>56</sup> Considering Cain's grisly deed, it could be argued that to mention Adam's children would be to his discredit, and would therefore have been avoided by the author. This is plausible; however, it presents the same problem. Adam's reputation would be best served by ending the narrative before the Fall. Once the Fall is included, it is difficult to see why the author would include this key aspect of Adam's life that is detrimental to his image but leave out another key aspect of Adam's life that is certainly no more detrimental.

the Christian *Vitae* were “mimetic,” presenting the glorious deeds of saints for the faithful to copy. This, however, cannot be the case for the entry on Adam, for he is praised for being the first of mankind, a skill impossible to imitate, and then for undergoing a cosmic journey that involves descending into Hell and being saved by Christ.<sup>57</sup> It is a story of failure and redemption, not of moral perfection; it is a story of a fall from grace, not a struggle to transcend an already fallen world. This is certainly a powerful Christian message, but it cannot be explained by *memesis*. Instead, we must look outside the Christian *Vita* to the works of John Chrysostom for this driving force behind the *Suda* entry.

### **The Encomiastic Homily**

During the course of his life, St. John Chrysostom delivered dozens of homilies on St. Paul and his writings. The *Pauline Epistles*, the *Acts of the Apostles*, and St. Paul himself became the subjects of John’s legendary rhetoric. In a recent study of these homilies, Mitchell distinguishes the exegetical and didactic purpose of John’s presentation of Paul, from the purely biographical purpose of a biography or the purely rhetorical purpose that would characterize a progymnastic encomium. By examining John’s homilies on Paul, we can find a new use of rhetoric that can be used as a model for understanding the motivations of the author of the Adam entry.

Although to a large extent John follows the classical prescriptions for encomia in his homilies on Paul, he frequently omits elements of the encomia and even includes other facets of rhetoric in his homilies. In her exhaustive study of these homilies, Mary Margaret Mitchell devotes three chapters to discussing Chrysostom’s praise of Paul’s physical body,

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<sup>57</sup> Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, 57.

his soul, and his externals (τὰ ἔξωθεν), such as race, upbringing, and deeds.<sup>58</sup> As we have seen above, these three criteria make up the essential elements of a progymnastic encomium. However, John does not stick to these criteria in every sermon on Paul. For example, in a collection of homilies overtly devoted to praising Paul, *On the Praise of St. Paul*, John leaves out any praise of Paul's body and focuses instead on his soul, calling it a "meadow of virtues and a spiritual paradise."<sup>59</sup> In addition to omitting some elements of the encomium, John includes other facets foreign to the encomium in his homilies. In the first of his homilies *On the Praise of St. Paul*, John crafts a laudatory portrayal of Paul out of a series of comparisons more familiar to the rhetoric of "comparison" (σύγκρισις) than to encomium.<sup>60</sup> Based on what we have already observed in the Adam entry, John's homilies on St. Paul seem to share a similar rhetorical form. While the Adam entry includes many encomiastic elements, it does not include enough of them to be considered progymnastic. In fact, it too focuses on Adam's spiritual gifts as opposed to his physical ones.<sup>61</sup> The Adam entry also ventures into facets of rhetoric besides the encomium, such as its foray into invective against Satan and Hellenism.<sup>62</sup>

But John does not venture outside the encomium merely in order to provide the best praise of his subject, as one might expect from a panegyric or even Christian *vita*. Instead, John uses his encomiastic homilies in order to present his audience with condensed,

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<sup>58</sup> Margaret Mary Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet*, (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), Chapters 4, 5, 6. Mitchell uses a broad understanding of "externals" (τὰ ἔξωθεν) closest to that of Theon (see section "encomium" above).

<sup>59</sup> *De Laudibus Sancti Paulini* 1.1. The Homily opens with: "One would not be wrong in calling Paul's soul a meadow of virtues and a spiritual paradise." "Οὐκ ἄν τις ἀμάρτοι λειμῶνα ἀρετῶν καὶ παράδεισον πνευματικὸν καλέσας τὴν Παύλου ψυχὴν." The omission of physical praise in the *De Laudibus Sancti Paulini* was, of course, noticed by Mitchell. Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet*, 138.

<sup>60</sup> John Chrysostom, *De Laudibus Sancti Pauli*, I.

<sup>61</sup> Adam's soul is most on display in *Sermo in Adam* 1-4. See also above section on "Encomium" for more on the lack of praise for Adam's physical body.

<sup>62</sup> *Sermo in Adam* 5-8.

emotionally charged, and easily understood Biblical exegesis. Mary Margaret Mitchell distinguishes John's work from a Christian *vita*, despite their many similarities.<sup>63</sup> To Mitchell, the biography may be the external structure of the homily, but biography is not its ultimate aim: "The form is biographic but the intention is typical, paradigmatic, and theologically providential."<sup>64</sup> The result is an inseparable mixture of encomium and exegesis, containing all the art of rhetoric with the science of theology.<sup>65</sup>

If we ascribe similar motivations to the author of the Adam entry, we can explain the author's divergence from the Biblical life of Adam as well as his use of epideictic rhetoric. However, we must first grasp the underlying exegetical message of the Adam entry, which comes to light if we look at the major events it describes. The author of the Adam entry begins in Paradise, with Adam created perfect;<sup>66</sup> he then discusses Satan's victory over Adam and the beginning of his reign on earth;<sup>67</sup> Christ then comes to save Adam from Hades, and Adam is restored into heaven.<sup>68</sup> By covering the creation of man, the Fall, and Salvation, the author has identified the three key elements in Christian cosmic history. The encomium of Adam can therefore be seen as the external form of the entry, which covers its true exegetical purpose, just as we have seen in Chrysostom's encomia on Paul. The author can then be understood as guiding his audience through three key aspects of Christianity, presenting his audience with complex theological issues in a gripping narrative of Adam. What seemed to be digressions from the Biblical life of Adam are in fact critical to the unity of underlying message. The reign of Satan with his pagan allies may not be a part of the life

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<sup>63</sup> Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet*, 405-406.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 382.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 384.

<sup>66</sup> *Sermo in Adam* 1-4

<sup>67</sup> *Sermo in Adam* 5-8

<sup>68</sup> *Sermo in Adam* 9-12.



of Adam, but it is a part of the larger cosmic history that the author introduces. Adam's progeny on the other hand may be central to the life of Adam, but they have no bearing on the larger message of the entry. Through the encomiastic narrative of Adam, the author of the Adam entry is able to impart this larger message about Christian salvation to his audience in a compelling, personal, and artistic way.

In tracing the rhetorical ancestors of the *Suda's* entry on Adam, we have begun to understand the entry's motivation for presenting Adam as a heroic figure. Rather than being merely an encomiastic praise of Adam for the sake of rhetoric, the Adam entry clearly is motivated by exegetical lessons the author wishes to impart on the audience. It is grounded in Classical rhetoric, though its purpose and content are entirely Christian. The Christian *Vita* is the closest fit for the Adam entry in terms of genre, though if this is really the category in which the Adam entry belongs, it is certainly advancing its boundaries. While it is safe to conclude that the entry's rhetoric allows the author to create a momentum that drives its larger, Christian message, it is unclear why the author would have used an encomium of Adam for this purpose as opposed to, for example, an invective of Adam. If we assume that Adam was a spurned figure in Byzantine society, we are left wondering why the author chose encomium to fuel his "λόγος." In order to address this issue, the next chapter will call this assumption of Byzantine society into question.

### Chapter III

#### Adam in Byzantium

In the previous chapter, we have seen that the Adam entry fits into a mode of discourse that evolved out of a combination of Late Antique rhetoric, Christian hagiography, and the homily. This heterogeneous form allows the author to at once praise a specific Christian figure and highlight a larger Christian message. In the Adam entry, the author uses the narrative framework of the life of Adam to support a discussion on the cosmic history of Salvation. Adam thrives in Paradise, he is overcome by Satan, Christ rescues him from Hades, and he is finally restored to the eternal paradise of heaven.

While the underlying salvific message of the entry helps to explain why the author has created an encomium of Adam, it does not explain how the encomium could have been taken seriously by its ancient audience. It is clear that the author is not writing an apology for Adam, for there is nothing present in the entry to suggest the author was conscious of any prevailing negative opinion of Adam. Nor does the author argue for his viewpoint in contrast to an established one, as one would expect of apologetic literature; in fact, it does not include even one *refutatio*. Instead, there is nothing to distinguish the author's attitude toward Adam from that of encomiastic and hagiographic authors toward their subjects: it is a stance of raising a neutral figure to the level of the esteemed, or even raising an esteemed figure to the level of the divine. Accordingly, the author must have believed his audience was amenable to seeing Adam as a figure that could be praised. This, however, is not to

say that the author necessarily believed Adam was a figure that was popularly esteemed by his audience, but rather one that did not need defending before them.

How, then, could the author of the Adam entry have taken for granted an audience that did not need to be dissuaded from viewing Adam as a disreputable character? To the modern Western reader, this is a revealing question. From the time of Augustine onward, the West has needed to be convinced that Adam was not a reprehensible figure. With Augustine's specific reading of Genesis, Adam became inseparably linked to concupiscence and sin, specifically Original Sin. In a passage discussing the consequences of the Fall, Augustine provides a concise encapsulation of his position:

From here [i.e. the Fall], after the sin, he [i.e. Adam] was made an exile and also confined to the punishment of death and damnation his own stalk, which he had tainted through his act of sin against himself as much as against his root: such that, whatever progeny born of him and, no less, of his damned wife (through whom he had sinned) through carnal concupiscence, which demands a punishment similar to disobedience, acquire original sin, by which he is carried off through the various errors and miseries with the fallen angels, their corruptors and owners and companions, to their final punishment.<sup>69</sup>

The western understanding of the Fall, as epitomized in Augustine's words here, has been thoroughly studied by historians and theologians. Byzantium's associations with Adam, however, have never been studied in detail. Sheltered from Augustine's interpretation of Genesis, Byzantine culture engendered its own perspective on Adam, Eve, the Fall, and even salvation, that are often hidden behind prevailing Western associations of these concepts. In the East, three major beliefs can be

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<sup>69</sup> Augustine, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, 26: Hinc post peccatum exsul effectus stirpem quoque suam, quam peccando in se tamquam in radice vitiaverat, poena mortis et damnationis obstrinxit: ut quidquid proles ex illo et simul damnata per quam peccaverat coniuge, per carnalem concupiscentiam, in qua inobedientiae poena similis retributa est, nasceretur, traheret originale peccatum, quo traheretur per errors doloresque diversos ad illud extremum cum desertoribus angelis, vitiatoribus et possessoribus et consortibus suis sine fine supplicium.

discerned that allowed for a positive image of Adam: the notion that Adam was created in the Image of God; the emphasis on the Harrowing of Hell, or, as they called it, the *Anastasis* (Ἀνάστασις), as the image of Salvation; and finally, the understanding that the Fall did not place unilateral blame and guilt upon Adam. By surveying these three powerful beliefs taken for granted by the Byzantines themselves, we can begin to understand the nuanced associations of Adam present in Byzantine culture that would allow the author of our entry to anticipate support for his encomiastic portrayal of Adam.

The idea of the *Imago Dei*, the powerful significance of the Harrowing of Hell, and the understanding of the Fall that presents Adam as tragic can be found in the *Suda* entry itself. The *Suda* opens with an assertion of Adam's greatness by virtue of his God-like image: "The first man, he who was molded by the hand of God and formed according to the image and likeness of his Craftsman and Creator, who was even worthy to have Paradise as his home."<sup>70</sup> The author then goes on to list the divine qualities that rendered Adam worthy to live in Paradise; worthy, that is, until he is overcome by Satan:

He is the first one in human form, the image summoned by God, from whom each creation of a human image receives its model, though it falls more and more to a level inferior to that blessed and Godlike copy which no sculptor or painter could use as a starting point, until the Murderer and Apostate and deceiving Devil overthrew him from his both his proper abode and state and caused him to be born headlong into those abyssal and lightless places approaching even as far as the most gloomy vaults of Hades.<sup>71</sup>

The Fall in the *Suda* is presented in a uniquely Byzantine light, where, as we shall see, Adam plays the role of a tragic figure conquered by Satan. Christ then must

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<sup>70</sup> *Sermo in Adam* 1.

<sup>71</sup> *Sermo in Adam* 5.

come down into Hades in order to restore Adam to Heaven, in an act known as the Harrowing of Hell or the *Anastasis*, that takes on particular salvific importance in the Byzantine tradition:

But the only begotten Son of God and *Logos* who predates time, having taken pity on the man since he was deceived by the Dragon from the bosom of the Father emptied Himself and became incarnate through the Holy Spirit and through the Holy Virgin and Theotokos Mary. And after defeating the Antagonist through the esteemed cross and His passion and after going down into the deepest parts of the earth He freed the first-formed one, who had gone astray, restoring the first beauty to his image and the original worthiness to his nature.<sup>72</sup>

The collection of these three ideas in the *Suda* entry on Adam suggests that it too is a product of the Byzantine culture that took for granted a unique set of views on Adam. It bears emphasizing that the point of this chapter is not to discuss these three ideas in the *Suda* entry itself, but rather to explore them in Byzantine culture at large from late Antiquity to the tenth century. By analyzing here not the *Suda*'s perspective of Adam but the perspective of Adam in Byzantine culture as a whole, it will be possible to explain how the author of this entry could have expected the encomiastic shell that coats his "λόγος" to be effective and not ridiculous. Because the Adam entry emphasizes Adam's status as the *Imago Dei*, presents the Harrowing of Hell as a critical moment of Salvation, and portrays the Fall in a way that renders Adam a tragic figure, we can conclude that the *Suda* entry shares the larger cultural assumptions of Adam that we are examining in this chapter.

But the *Suda* is not the only place where we find all three of these ideas expressed in the context of a narrative homily. Like the Adam entry, the work known as the "Easter Eve Homily" presents Adam in a positive light and betrays Byzantine conceptions of the *Imago Dei*, the Harrowing of Hell and the Fall. The

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<sup>72</sup>*Sermo in Adam* 9.

“Easter Eve Homily,” was delivered on Holy Saturday sometime probably no earlier than the sixth century, and is wrongly attributed to the fiery fourth-century Bishop of Salamis, Epiphanius.<sup>73</sup> The “Easter Eve Homily” provides a homiletic narration of Christ’s Descent into Hell, where Adam is portrayed as a heroic leader of the faithful but “condemned” (συγκαταδίκαι) in Hades.<sup>74</sup> Adam is introduced as “the first-created of all mankind, and the first formed, and the first mortal.”<sup>75</sup> He even converses with Christ. In the chillingly climactic moment where Christ and Adam first meet, Adam, who has heard Christ’s footsteps, heralds Christ’s coming to the other residents of Hades, saying “My Lord is with you all,” (Ὁ Κύριός μου μετὰ πάντων), to which Christ Himself, having just appeared, responds, “And with your spirit” (Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου).<sup>76</sup> The language here is unmistakable: in this profound moment when Christ and Adam meet in Hades, the precise moment of Salvation, they recite the liturgy of the Church together. The scene is one of forgiveness, and Christ repeatedly bids Adam to “Get up” (ἐγείρε) and to “Stand up” (ἀνάστα).<sup>77</sup> Like the Adam entry, the Easter Eve Homily is theologically and even exegetically charged, though encased within a narrative. More importantly here, though, the Easter Eve Homily presents Adam as a heroic figure. Adam may not be perfect in the Homily, but he is certainly the object of laudatory and even encomiastic praise.

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<sup>73</sup> MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 192.

<sup>74</sup> Pseudo-Epiphanius, *Homilia in Divini Corporis Sepultam* or *In Sancto et Magno Sabbato*, PG 43:440-464.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., PG 43:460-461: “ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἐκεῖνος, ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πρωτόκτιστος, καὶ πρωτόπλαστος, καὶ πρωτόθνητος.”

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., PG 43:461.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., PG 43:461

Like the *Suda* entry, the Easter Eve Homily emphasizes Adam's status as created in the Image of God, it is entirely centered on the Harrowing of Hell, and it is imbedded within an understanding of the Fall unique to Eastern Christianity. As further study of the Easter Eve Homily could yield multiple volumes of scholarship, let it suffice here to say that the Easter Eve Homily demonstrates that the *Suda*'s entry, though unique, is not *sui generis* in its understanding and portrayal of Adam. Both the entry, and the Homily demonstrate that a look into the Byzantine understanding of Adam is long overdue.

### ***The Imago Dei***

The first of the theological ideas examined here, the *Imago Dei*, or the belief that Adam was made in the image of God, is a topic ubiquitous among the writings of Byzantine theologians. The concept of *Imago Dei* is rooted in Genesis 1:26-27:

And God said, 'Let us make mankind according to our own image and according to our likeness, and let him rule over the fish of the sea and the birds of the sky and the herds and all the earth and all the creatures that crawl on the earth. And God made man, he made him according to according to the image of God, he made humankind male and female.'<sup>78</sup>

What exactly is meant by these lines, however, evades unanimity among theologians of any period.

Though the Patristic fathers struggled to define the precise relationship implied by the *Imago Dei*, they universally understood the "image" as a positive one. We see this on display in the thinking of several of the most prominent early fathers. In the third century, Origen posited that the lines did not refer to the physical

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<sup>78</sup> Translation here is from the Septuagint.

appearance of mankind, but rather the incorporeal soul that transcended the corruption of the physical world.

Clearly we do not understand that this man, whom it is said was created in the image of God, was corporeal. For the appearance of God does not contain the image of God, nor is it said that man was made corporeal, but that he was formed, just as it has been written in the following, for it says, “And God formed man,” that is, He molded him, “from the mud of the earth.”<sup>79</sup>

This view was entangled in his belief in the preexistence of souls, which was eventually to be anathematized at the Synod of Constantinople in 553. Athanasius (d. 373) too believed the *Imago Dei* referred to the soul of man:

And it is possible to turn toward [God], if they [i.e. mankind], should ever put away the filth of all desire which they clothe themselves in, and wash it all off until they have removed the entire amount of alien material accreted on the soul, and should display the soul alone just as it was created, in order that they might be able thus to see the Logos of the Father in it, according to Which they first came into existence. For it [i.e. the Soul] has been made in the image of God and is in His likeness, as the Holy Scripture indicates, saying from the mouth of God: “Let Us make man according to Our image and according to Our likeness.”<sup>80</sup>

Though, like Origen, Athanasius believed the *Image of God* to rest in the soul, Athanasius’ views his views were not complicated by the exaggerated allegories of more extreme Origenism. For Athanasius, the *Imago Dei* gave mankind a connection to the Divine; it allowed mortals to contemplate God, though they soon ignored this connection in favor of the contemplation of idols.<sup>81</sup> John Chrysostom does not mention the connection between the Image of God and the soul in his *Homilies on*

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<sup>79</sup> Origen, *Homilia in Genesim* 1:13, PG 12:155: Hunc sane hominem, quem dicit ad imaginem Dei factum, non intelligimus corporalem. Non enim corporis figmentum Dei imaginem continet, neque factus esse corporalis homo dicitur, sed plasmatus, sicut in consequentibus scriptum est. Ait enim: “Et plasmavit Deus hominem” id est finxit, “de terrae limo.”

<sup>80</sup> Athanasius, *Contra Gentes*, P.T. Cam. (2008), 34: Ἐπιστρέψαι δὲ δύναται ἐάν ὃν ἐνεδύσαντο ῥύπον πάσης ἐπιθυμίας ἀποθῶνται, καὶ τοσοῦντον ἀπονίγνωνται ἕως ἂν ἀποθῶνται πᾶν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἀλλότριον τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ μόνην αὐτὴν ὥσπερ γέγονεν ἀποδείξωσιν, ἵν’ οὕτως ἐν αὐτῇ θεωρῇσαι τὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς λόγον, καθ’ ὃν καὶ γεγόνασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, δυνήθωσι. Κατ’ εἰκόνα γὰρ Θεοῦ πεποιήται καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν γέγονεν, ὥς καὶ ἡ θεία σημαίνει Γραφή ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγουσα: “Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν.

<sup>81</sup> For the contrast against pagan worship of idols, see Athanasius, *Contra Gentes* 2.



*Genesis* (delivered in 386),<sup>82</sup> and instead argues that the “image” referred in Scripture refers to man’s dominion over the earth.<sup>83</sup> With the coming of the Origenist Controversy at the turn of the fifth century, the theological world wrestled with the implications of Origen’s understanding of the *Imago Dei*. On one extreme was Origen’s theory of the preexistence of souls; on the other was a view known as anthropomorphism, whose supporters took an extremely literal interpretation of Genesis 1:26 in their belief that God in fact had a body like that of mankind. At the instigation of Epiphanius (d. 403), himself a fervent opponent of Origenism, Rufinus and Jerome were famously split over this issue, the former supporting Origen, the latter renouncing him.

As a natural consequence of this patristic discourse, a sophisticated understanding of Adam grew alongside the flowering doctrine of the *Imago Dei*. As the Patristic fathers were in agreement that mankind had received the inarguably positive gift of God’s image upon their creation, when Adam is mentioned in discussions on the *Imago Dei* he tends to be cited as an example of mankind’s perfect, God-created image, whatever this may mean to the author. Typically, Adam is held out as mankind’s closest possible likeness to God’s image. Athanasius, for example, in the only mention of Adam in his *Contra Paganos*, writes that the state of newly created mankind is

Just as the Holy Scriptures say the first of mankind, who was called Adam in the Hebrew tongue, devoted his mind to God in the beginning with a freedom

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<sup>82</sup> For composition date for these homilies, see J. N. D. Kelly, *Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), page 58.

<sup>83</sup> John Chrysostom, *Homilia in Genesim* 2, Laur. Brott. 124-164.

untarnished by shame and dwelled among the Holy Ones in the contemplation of what he perceived in that place which Holy Moses figuratively named 'Paradise.'<sup>84</sup>

Laudatory discourse on Adam such as this is common in the discussion of the *Imago Dei*,<sup>85</sup> since it helps underscore post-fallen man's distance from this divine image. As the positive understanding of Adam developed, there came a contingent set of rhetoric for talking about Adam that is linked to his status as the first man. Adam became known as the "first-formed" (προτοπλάστος),<sup>86</sup> to Gregory of Nazianzus he became "first-born" (πρωτόγονος),<sup>87</sup> Basil called Adam the "prototype" (πρωτότυπος).<sup>88</sup> It is worth noting that words such as "πρωτόγονος" and "πρωτότυπος" appear as often in relation to Christ as in relation to Adam. Such words were meant to draw a connection between the first Adam and the Second, Christ, Who similarly underwent a Creation of His own, in the form of the Incarnation.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Athanasius, *Contra Gentes*, 2, P.T. Cam. (2008), 2: ὥσπερ οὖν τὸν πρῶτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον, ὃς καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν Ἀδὰμ ὠνομάσθη, λέγουσιν αἱ ἱεραὶ γραφαὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεπαισχύντῳ παρρησίᾳ τὸν νοῦν ἐσχηκέναι πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ συνδιαιτᾶσθαι τοῖς ἀγίοις ἐν τῇ τῶν νοητῶν θεωρίᾳ, ἣν εἶχεν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ, ὃν καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Μωϋσῆς τροπικῶς παράδεισον ὠνόμασεν." p.54-56

<sup>85</sup> e.g. John Chrysostom's impeccable intelligence in the Garden and the naming of the animals, *Homily on Genesis* 3: 97. In his essay, "Adam in Origen," C. P. Bammel argues that, contrary to most estimates of his allegorical take of Genesis, Origen not only believed Adam to be a real person (p. 63), but in fact viewed him as the father of all mankind, who were polluted by his post-fallen state (pp. 90-81). C.P. Bammel, "Adam in Origen," in *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick*, ed. Rowan Williams (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), 63 and 90-81.

<sup>86</sup> First used in the *Wisdom of Solomon* VII.1, but very common among patristic fathers. The frequency of "προτοπλάστος" in the writings of the early Church Fathers as an epithet for Adam was noticed by MacCullough, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 162.

<sup>87</sup> E.g. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carminum Libri Duo*, PG 37:456 and Gregory of Nazianzus *Oratio* 40.6, PG 36:364. The term is used of Christ frequently and by many authors, often to create parallels between Christ as the New Adam, e.g. Gregory of Nyssa *Contra Eunomium* 3.2.59.

<sup>88</sup> Basil, *Homilia* 8.7, PG 31:324.

<sup>89</sup> In fact, the word "πρωτόκοος," typically used in relation to Christ, had to be explicated by Theodore of Mopsuestia in order to draw the connection away from Adam: "τὸ πρωτότοκος οὐκ ἐπὶ χρόνου λέγεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ προτιμήσεως πολλάκις." Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentarium in Epistulam Pauli ad Colossenses* 1:15, PG: 66:928.

In ensuing centuries, the understanding of the *Imago Dei* attained a new and heightened importance with the rise of Iconoclasm. Esoteric theological arguments dominate the intellectual history of eighth and ninth century Byzantium, and it is difficult to overstate the cultural and religious consequences of the ultimate victory of the iconodoules, who supported the religious use of icons, over the iconoclasts, who thought that they resembled too closely the graven images forbidden in Exodus 20:4 and throughout Scripture. Though this intellectual fight was largely a competition between two highly developed Christologies, the dialectical forces of the iconodoules were reinforced by assertions that relied upon the idea of the *Imago Dei*.<sup>90</sup> The iconodoules recognized the usefulness of Genesis 26-27 in their argumentation, seeing in it a divine fiat for the creation of an “image” (εἰκόν). Theodore the Studite, the steadfast champion of icons during the eighth and ninth century, writes in his *Refutatio* against the iconoclasts, “Since man is made in the image and likeness of God, the nature of image-making seems to be some sort of divine act.”<sup>91</sup> By understanding the act of the creation of man as an “image,” the iconodoules were then able to extrapolate upon this in their assertion that images of Christ were theologically sound. To quote Theodore the Studite again, “Man has no characteristic more basic than this, that he can be iconized; that which cannot be iconized is not a human being.”<sup>92</sup> If we say that Christ’s image cannot be “circumscribed” [περίγραπτος] in an icon, we must also say that Christ could not

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<sup>90</sup> The best overview of the theological argumentation of the iconoclast remains George Florovsky, “Origen, Eusebius, and the Iconoclastic Controversy,” *Church History* 19 (1950).

<sup>91</sup> See *Refutatio Poematum Iconomachorum* PG 99:420: τὸ κατ’ εἰκόνα Θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοίωσιν πεποιθῆσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, δείκνυσι θεῖόν τι χρῆμα ὑπάρχειν τὸ τῆς εἰκονουργίας εἶδος.

<sup>92</sup> Theodore the Studite, *Refutatio Carminum Joannis, Ignatii, Sergii et Stephani, Iconomachorum*, PG 99:444-445: Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο τι ἐν τοῖς κατ’ αὐτὸν ιδιώμασι πρῶτον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἢ τὸ πεφθκέναι εἰκονίζεσθαι.

have been fully circumscribed in his human form. Since it had been canonically established that Christ was fully man, the iconodoules could prove that Christ could be circumscribed in an image, just as Adam was. According to Jaroslav Pelikan, this line of argument had nothing less at stake than “the true humanity of Christ as Second Adam described in the creed of the church, and therefore the genuine history of Christ described in the Gospels.”<sup>93</sup> And, at the center of this fundamental iconodoule argument, stood Adam. The discussion of mankind’s circumscription in an image was linked to the Creation, and specifically to the idea that Adam was created in the *image* of God. To the iconodoules, the very act of the incarnation was set parallel to the Creation of Man.<sup>94</sup> Both were “image-making” processes, but while Adam, and subsequently all humanity, had an Image of God, Christ was in fact the perfect “prototype” of this image.<sup>95</sup> Adam and Christ are yet again bound tightly together, the first man with the Perfect Man.

In the argumentation used by the iconodoules there is an implicit emphasis on Adam as the representative of humanity. The arguments used to discuss Christ’s humanity come not from philosophical notions of human nature, but rather they derive from one precise moment of cosmic history: The Creation. This moment happens to be inseparable from Adam, whose creation in the Image of God is lauded

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<sup>93</sup> Jaroslav Pelikan, *Imago Dei: The Byzantine Apologia for Icons* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 83.

<sup>94</sup> E.g. John of Damascus, *Orations on the Holy Icons* PG: 94: 1245.

<sup>95</sup> Theodore the Studite, *Refutatio*, PG 99:420: “Εἰ Ἀδάμ ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος τῷ εἶδει περιγράφεται, ἄρα καὶ ὁ δεῦτερος Ἀδάμ, Θεός ὢν καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἐξ ἴσου τῷ σωματικῷ εἶδει εἰκονισθήσεται. Εἰ δὲ υἱὸς ὁ χοῖκός τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοῖκοι, καὶ οἷος ὁ ἐπουράνιος, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι ἡμεῖς δὲ δὴ τοιοῦτοι ὄντες εἰκονιζόμεθα• καὶ Χριστὸς ἄρα ὡς πάντων ἐστὶν ἀρχηγὸς σωτηρίας, εἰκόνος οἰκείας ἐστὶν ἀρχέτυπον. “If Adam the first man is circumscribed in his form, in the same way truly also Christ, the second Adam, being God and man, will be made into an image in his corporeal form. But if ‘as it is to be of the earth, so earthly things are; and as it is to be heavenly, so heavenly things are. we are truly so, being made in an image; and indeed Christ, as the author of everyone’s salvation, is the archetype of this very image.”

by the Patristic Fathers. While there may be less unadulterated praise of Adam during the course of the Iconoclasm, there is no doubt that the iconoclasm, with its discussions of Christ's human nature in connection with the Creation of Man, strengthened the idea of Adam as the symbol of all mankind. Throughout early Byzantine history, then, the Byzantine understanding of the *Imago Dei* suggests an understanding of Adam that can be adulatory, though one that can also easily shift into the realm of allegory, with Adam representing mankind as a whole.

### **The *Anastasis***

The conception of Adam as a symbol of mankind like that which we see in Byzantine writings on the *Imago Dei* is all the more evident in cultural works on the *Anastasis* (ἀνάστασις). Though the doctrine of the *Anastasis* was developed over the centuries, in Orthodox and Oriental Christianity it came to represent the moment of salvation. Literally meaning "Resurrection," the term *Anastasis* describes Christ's descent into Hell on the Saturday before Easter, the day after his Crucifixion. While the precise events are rather fluid, the necessary elements of the story include Christ coming into Hades after his Crucifixion, overcoming Satan, and taking Adam along with the rest of the saints with him to Heaven. As the leader of the Holy in the underworld, Adam plays the part of mankind's representative, a role that easily shifts to a more symbolic role as mankind itself. With the rise of the image of the *Anastasis* in visual art beginning in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the profound ubiquity of the *Anastasis* story becomes indisputable. Adam's importance in the story is also heightened through his entrée onto the stage of visual art, as the long narrative of

the *Anastasis* is reduced to a two-dimension freeze-frame, wherein Christ takes Adam by the hand, about to return to Paradise. The image created by the written and visual arts depicts an Adam that is dignified and at times even heroic. Moreover, Adam became a symbol for all mankind at the very moment of salvation, rendering the association of Adam with the *Anastasis* the single most powerful cultural perception of Adam in the Byzantine world.

As the *Anastasis* is indeed the climax to the story of Christ's Incarnation, it is difficult to overestimate its importance in the Byzantine theological paradigm. So powerful was the *Anastasis* in the theology of the East, that it eclipsed even the crucifixion as the dominant image of Easter. Robin Cormack summarizes, "while the western depiction of the events of Easter Sunday became emblemized by the moments of the Passion, in the East...the events became emblemized by the *Anastasis*."<sup>96</sup> Of course, as the dominant image of Easter, it is not surprising that the image is understood as the image of salvation itself. Jaroslav Pelikan describes the Eastern understanding of salvation as a "top-down" process: "from God through Christ to sin and death, Hades and the devil, as the enemies of humanity who had held it in thrall since the fall of Adam and Eve and whom Christ now vanquished through his Crucifixion and Resurrection."<sup>97</sup> Pelikan's description also captures the Eastern tendency to view salvation as a cosmic battle, wherein the *Anastasis* is seen as the great victory of Christ over Satan.

Curiously, despite the importance of the *Anastasis* in Byzantine theology, its origin remains mysterious. Though nothing like the *Anastasis* as described above is

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<sup>96</sup> Robin Cormack, *Byzantine Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 66.

<sup>97</sup> Pelikan, *Imago Dei*, 97.

explicitly mentioned in the scripture,<sup>98</sup> the earliest Church Fathers appear to be aware that Christ did descend into the underworld. In the course of his discourse on the soul in the third century, Tertullian cites Christ's descent into hell to save the souls of the dead.

But what is that which is sent to the underworld after the separation from its body? What is it that is reserved till the Day of Judgment, detained in that place to which Christ also descended upon his death (I think, to the souls of the Patriarchs), if there be not a soul under the earth?<sup>99</sup>

Likewise, St. Ignatius mentions the resurrection of the Holy from the underworld:

How will we be able to live apart from Him, whose very prophets, being his disciples, awaited Him as a teacher through the Spirit? And because of this, He whom they justly awaited became present and raised them up from the dead.<sup>100</sup>

The doctrine was known by at least one educated non-Christian in the second century, for Origen feels it necessary to rebuff Celsus' jibes at Christ's "persuasion" of the dead in Hades. Origen's confident response demonstrates a deepened understanding of the Harrowing of Hell by the late third century:

And after these things he [i.e. Celsus] said to us that, 'Surely you don't say about Him that after failing to persuade those still alive He was sent to Hades to persuade those there.' And even should he not like it, we say this, that even while He was in the Flesh he persuaded not a few but such a great many that He was plotted against on account of the multitude of believers, and that once he became a soul stripped of a body he visited the souls stripped of bodies, even turning to him those who so wished or those he saw for whom he had a plan, through his own designs.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Certain verses are, however, cited as supporting the doctrine, such as Matthew 12:40; Acts 2: 24, 27, 31; Romans 10:7; Ephesians 4:9; and Colossians 1.18.

<sup>99</sup> Tertullian, *De Anima*, VII.3 Reif. Wiss., 10:7: Quid est autem illud quod ad inferna transfertur post diuortium corporis, quod detinetur illic, quod in diem iudicii reseruat, ad quod et Christus moriendo descendit (puto, ad animas patriarcharum), si nihil anima sub terris?

<sup>100</sup> Ignatius, *Epistula ad Magnesios* (recensio media) P.T. Cam. (1969), 9.2: πῶς ἡμεῖς δυνησόμεθα ζῆσαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, οὗ καὶ οἱ προφῆται μαθηταὶ ὄντες τῷ πνεύματι ὡς διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν προσεδόκων; Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὃν δικαίως ἀνέμενον, παρὼν ἤγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν.

<sup>101</sup> Origen *Contra Celsum*, M. Borr., II.43: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λέγει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅτι οὐ δὴ πού φησете περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι μὴ πείσας τοὺς ὧδε ὄντας ἐστέλλετο εἰς ἄδου πείσων τοὺς ἐκεῖ. Κἂν μὴ βούληται οὖν, τοῦτό φαμεν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν σώματι ὢν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἔπεισεν ἀλλὰ τοσούτους, ὡς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πειθομένων ἐπιβουλευθῆναι αὐτόν, καὶ γυμνὴ σώματος γενόμενος ψυχὴ ταῖς γυμναῖς σωμάτων ὠμίλει ψυχαῖς, ἐπιστρέφων κακείνων τὰς βουλομένας πρὸς αὐτόν ἢ ἄς ἑώρα δι' οὓς ἤδει αὐτὸς λόγους ἐπιτηδειότερας.

In 359, the Descent into Hell had attained creedal status in the “Fourth Formula of Sirmium,” which included the Harrowing of Hell among the essential aspects of Christ’s life on earth:

We believe He is the only begotten Son of God, that he arrived by the will of the Father from the heavens for the abolition of sin, and that He was born from the Virgin Mary, and that He dwelled with his disciples and that He fulfilled all His divine plan according to the will of the father, that he was Crucified and that he died and that he went down into the underworld and that he ordered things there, He Whom the gatekeepers of Hades shuddered at once they saw Him.<sup>102</sup>

There soon followed the Conciliatory Creeds of Nike (359) and Constantinople (360), both of which also proclaimed the doctrine of the Descent. Most famously, the Descent is remembered in the Apostles Creed of the late fourth century.

The document most associated with the doctrine of Christ’s descent into Hell is a mysterious non-canonical pseudo-epigraphic text known as the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Made up of three parts, the *Gospel of Nicodemus* provides an account of the Passion and Crucifixion, an account of the Resurrection, and an account of Christ’s descent into Hell. This last section was almost certainly a separate work compiled along with the other two accounts.<sup>103</sup> The date of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* has been the subject of much debate, though it now seems likely that it was written in the mid-sixth century.<sup>104</sup> The Descent story contained in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* presents a lengthy narrative of the Harrowing of Hell: St. John the Baptist is the forerunner of Christ in Hades; Satan is overcome by Christ; the saints are rescued;

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<sup>102</sup> Athanasius, *De Synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria*, H.G. Opit., 8:5: τοῦτον ἴσμεν τοῦ θεοῦ μονογενῆ υἱόν, νεύματι πατρικῷ παραγενόμενον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν εἰς ἀθέτησιν ἀμαρτίας καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἀναστραφέντα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκονομίαν πληρώσαντα κατὰ τὴν πατρικὴν βούλησιν, σταυρωθέντα καὶ ἀποθανόντα καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε οἰκονομήσαντα, ὃν πυλωροὶ ἔδου ἰδόντες ἔφριξαν.

<sup>103</sup> MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 153: “There is practical unanimity that the *Descensus* section was originally a separate work.”

<sup>104</sup> G.C. O’Ceallaigh, “Dating the commentaries of Nicodemus,” 58: “The internal evidence of the Commentaries [i.e. the *Gospel of Nicodemus*] demands a *terminus post quem* at the year 555.”



and Adam is taken by the arm and escorted into Heaven. Because the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is the only account of the Harrowing of Hell passed down to us that has pretensions of being Gospel, it is easy to assume that it serves the basis for more complex narratives of the Gospel. Yet the belief in all the major aspects of the *Gospel of Nicodemus'* account of the Harrowing of Hell can be found in earlier works.<sup>105</sup> It is also worth noting that the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is not trumpeted by the Byzantines as a source for the Harrowing of Hell. It is most common among authors who discuss the Harrowing of Hell to leave out mention of a source entirely.

Though the *Gospel of Nicodemus* has attracted scholarly attention throughout the twentieth century, the *Anastasis* is an idea most familiar to Byzantinists in its art-historical context. The Byzantines themselves gave the title “The Anastasis” (ἡ Ἀνάστασις) to the image of Christ standing atop the ruined gates and chains of Hades, taking Adam by the hand, about to rise up from the land of the dead.<sup>106</sup> The first image of the Anastasis known to us appears in the eighth century, where it had

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<sup>105</sup> The scholarship surrounding the date of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* and similar literature on the Harrowing of Hell is messy, with new finds of various texts in Semitic languages and Armenian confounding attempts to establish a reliable date. On the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, See G. C. O’Ceallaigh, *Dating the Commentaries of Nicodemus*; for the addition of similar material in Armenian, see Sirarpie der Nersessian, “An Armenian Version of the Homilies on the Harrowing of Hell,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954): 221-222. For material that provides accounts of similar elements of the Harrowing of Hell story before the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, see MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell*, 155, who counts the *Odes of Solomon*, *Ascension of Isaiah*, Ignatius, Hermas, the *Epistle of the Apostles*, the *Teaching of Addai*, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Clement, Origen. Supporting the idea that the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is not the ultimate source of the Harrowing of Hell concept in Byzantium is Kartsonis’ observation that the Byzantine image of the *Anastasis* in the visual arts does not derive from the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Anna D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: the Making of an Image*, (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1986), 14-16.

<sup>106</sup> One of the earliest images of the *Anastasis* from the ninth century Chludov Psalter offers the caption: Τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀνιστῶν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκ τοῦ ᾍδου. “Christ Resurrecting Adam from Hades.” (Figure 1). The significance of this was noted by Anna Kartsonis, whose monumental work, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*, has been invaluable to this study. Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 5.

already earned a spot on a christological cycle (Figure 2).<sup>107</sup> The *Anastasis* gained popularity during the ninth century with the conclusion of the iconoclast controversy, and becomes relatively standardized by the tenth century.<sup>108</sup> The concepts of the resurrection and salvation imbedded into the symbolism of the *Anastasis* image led to its development in the tenth century as a liturgical image associated with Easter. The link between the image of the *Anastasis* and Easter grew so strong that Anna Kartsonis describes it as the “visual synonym for Easter.”<sup>109</sup>

As ubiquitous as images of the *Anastasis* became in the Byzantine world, it only follows that the Byzantine association of Adam would have become tightly bound to the story of the Harrowing of Hell, and specifically to that version of the Harrowing of Hell shown in images of the *Anastasis*. It is worth noting that the image of the *Anastasis* does not derive directly from the Descent story in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.<sup>110</sup> Its exact origins are unknown, but it seems likely that the *Anastasis* evolved organically out of the cultural understanding of the Harrowing of Hell

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<sup>107</sup> From Rome, during the pontificate of Pope John VII. These depictions are thought to be an import to Rome of Constantinopolitan origin. Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 70.

<sup>108</sup> Kartsonis identifies the following features of the standardized *Anastasis* by the 10<sup>th</sup> century: 1) “Christ advances toward Adam to the right, or to the left;” 2) “He holds the old-fashioned scroll and is enveloped in a mandorla of light sometimes omitted;” 3) “He lifts Adam, who is an old man half-kneeling in a schematized shallow sarcophagus, which is also sometimes omitted;” 4) “The scene usually takes place in the upper part of the *tenebrae*, whose chasm is at times bordered with hills and rocks;” 5) “The broken gates of Hades are sometimes included;” 6) “[the overthrown lord of the underworld] is either related or the muscular ancient god;” 7) “The personification of Hades may also be omitted;” 8) “Whenever present, Hades, who is now fettered, asserts the power of Death over man by holding Adam’s foot with one, or even both hands;” 9) “King David and King Solomon are included with increasing frequency, though their presence is not yet indispensable. They are usually represented in bust rising out of a sarcophagus; but the idea of showing them in full figure is also tried out;” 10) “John the Baptist is added, increasing the number of identifiable members of the *Anastasis* cast.” Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 165. For an example of a typical tenth-century image, see Figure 3.

<sup>109</sup> Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 1.

<sup>110</sup> Kartsonis notes several differences between the *Gospel of Nicodemus* and images of the *Anastasis*. For example, in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Satan as the devil is not the same as Hades, ruler of the underworld, though there is no such distinction found in *Anastasis* images. Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 14-16.

present before the creation of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, from which it too likely emerged. With the growing popularity of the Anastasis image from the 8<sup>th</sup> century onward, the role of the Descent narrative in Byzantine culture would have changed drastically. Specifically, the *Anastasis* crystallized the moment that Christ rescued Adam from Hell, preserving it as the critical moment of the story. The climax of the Harrowing of Hell was not the defeat of Satan or the salvation of the Saints, but rather the salvation of *Adam*. This is remarkable, considering that both the official and general understanding of the story did not limit Christ's salvation of those in Hades to Adam, but to all the holy men in Hades. According to the Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787, Christ "despoiled Hades with the power of his own Divinity and freed those who had been imprisoned for ages and took them into heaven."<sup>111</sup> In the ninth century, Photius followed a similar understanding of the Harrowing of Hell, declaring in a homily on Holy Saturday, "And because of you was the emptying of the tomb and the demise of death and the destruction of Hades and the resurrection in three days, each of which proving in visible deeds the resurrection (ἀνάστασις) of everyone, ushering it in divinely."<sup>112</sup> Yet in the image of the *Anastasis*, the crowd of holy men in Hades is an inessential addition; Adam, however, is as indispensable as Christ.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> From the Creed of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, Er. Lam., 256. "τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμει θεότητος τὸν ἄδην σκθλε' ἥσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος δεσμίους ἐλευθερώσαντα εἰς οὐρανοὺς τε ἀναληφθέντα"

<sup>112</sup> Photius, *Homily 12*: B. Laourd., 123: καὶ γὰρ διὰ σὲ καὶ τάφου κένωσις καὶ θανάτου νέκρωσις καὶ Ἰδοῦ καθαίρεσις καὶ τριήμερος ἔγερσις, τὴν πάντων ἀνάστασιν ἔργοις ὀρωμένοις πιστουμένη καὶ θεοπρεπῶς ἐγκαινίζουσα.

<sup>113</sup> Even when the saints are depicted, Christ still grabs the hand of Adam and, with the occasional addition of Eve, it is only ever Adam whom Christ takes by the hand. The other holy men are in the background, squeezed in where there is room.

The interpretation of the climax of Christ's Descent as solidified in the image of the *Anastasis* reinforced the Byzantine association of Adam as a symbol of all mankind. Since, as mentioned above, Christ's Descent into Hell came to represent in the East the moment of salvation, the *Anastasis* became the visual depiction of Salvation. It is the image that is linked with Easter, and with the resurrection not only of Adam, nor only of the dead in Hades, but with the resurrection of all mankind. In this sense, Adam stands for the everyman, with whom the viewer associates, being a placeholder for any individual in need of Christ's salvation.<sup>114</sup> Adam therefore becomes, in this the most central message to the story of Christian hope for the Byzantines, the mirror image of the viewer. The amount of empathy this would have inculcated in the Byzantine viewers, who would look each Sunday at this image, who would hear the story of the Descent at Easter, cannot be underestimated. With the image of the *Anastasis*, we see Adam's most intimate connection with the Byzantine. It is a bond that is not blemished with guilt, but strengthened by a mutual understanding between sinners who yearn tirelessly for salvation. For the Byzantine, to think of Adam is to think of humanity.

### **The Fall**

Interacting with the two positive associations of Adam we have viewed in detail, the *Imago Dei* and the *Anastasis*, there existed another view of Adam in the Byzantine world, that of Adam as the first sinner. As menacing as this third perspective on Adam sounds, it does not overpower the Byzantine perception of

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<sup>114</sup> Anna Kartsonis herself designates Adam's function within the *Anastasis* image as the "everyman." Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 6 et passim.

Adam. Capturing this view, however, is made difficult by the fluidity of Eastern theology on the Fall. As the East lacks a single, overpoweringly influential figure like Augustine to solidify its understanding of the Fall, one can find many developed and persuasive interpretations of the Fall through the space and time of the Byzantine world. It can therefore be problematic to speak of a single Byzantine view of the Fall with precision. However, larger themes do emerge. Generally, the understanding of the Fall accepted by Byzantines does not cast Adam as an evil figure, nor does it heap guilt upon him. Instead, Adam is presented tragically, and is more properly described as the victim of Satan rather than the architect of sin. Thus, though this understanding may not engender the highest praise of Adam, it does not inspire invective either. Insofar as a cultural view of Adam is concerned, the gulf between the East and West is profound, and the nuance of the Eastern perspective can easily be lost. While this section cannot provide a sufficient contrast between Eastern and Western theology on the Fall (as such a task would require several volumes), it is still possible to capture the distinct Byzantine understanding of the Fall while still recognizing its subtle divergences.

To the Byzantines, Adam's sin brought death into the world, but it did not fundamentally alter the state of Man's soul. From the early days of Christianity, interpretations of the Fall typically helped in focusing Orthodox doctrine around a solution to the problem of evil that could challenge Gnosticism's dualism. Gnosticism tested the intellectual consistency of Orthodox Christian doctrine by offering a competing explanation for the presence of evil in the world. Orthodox Christian thinkers naturally responded with increasingly more developed

interpretations of the Fall. While the interpretations that emerged from this period could at times be contradictory among various authors, the general understanding of the Fall had become understood as the inauguration of death into the world.<sup>115</sup> Framing the Fall within his broader understanding of salvation, St. Irenaeus writes, “Since just as sin had its entrance through the inobedience of one man, and death through sin, thus through the obedience of one man justice was introduced and fructified life for those men who were once mortal.”<sup>116</sup> For the early Church fathers, the Fall was a profound moment in human history; however, in the East, this was not the beginning of mankind’s journey for salvation. Gregory of Nazianzus, in an oration on the merits of charity, writes that, “Love of mankind is beautiful. And the witness to this is Jesus Himself, having not only made man for good works and joined his image to clay as a guide to good things and as one who helps us toward things above, but also having become man on their behalf.”<sup>117</sup> That mankind was created in a way that still needed guidance toward heaven and perfection is a critical and uniquely Eastern approach to understanding pre-fallen man.<sup>118</sup> According to

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<sup>115</sup> For an example of a divergent interpretation of the Fall, see Tertullian, who gives us a view that is most reminiscent of Augustinianism and most removed from the Byzantine perspective. Henri Rondet, *Original Sin: The Patristic and Theological Background*, trans. Cajetan Finegan (New York: Alba House, 1967), 61-62. It is also interesting to observe early Church fathers distinction between the sin of Adam and the sin of Cain. Rondet also notes that, for Gregory of Nyssa, Sin truly began with Cain, not with Adam. Incidentally, Origen too believed Cain to be the egregious sinner, while Adam was merely the first. This, at least, is the argument put forth by C.P. Bammel, in his essay “Adam in Origen,” made against those who would take Origen to think of Adam only allegorically. Bammel, “Adam in Origen,” 77.

<sup>116</sup> Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereseos*, III: PG 7:954: Quia quemadmodum per inoboedientiam unius hominis introitum peccatum habuit, et per peccatum mors obtinuit; sic et per obedientiam unius hominis iustitia introducta vitam fructificet his, qui olim mortui errant, hominibus.

<sup>117</sup> Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio 14* (sive *De Puperum Amore*), PG 35:860: Καλὸν ἡ φιλανθρωπία· καὶ μάρτυς ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς, οὐ ποιήσας μόνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπ’ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τῷ Χοῖ συζεύξας ὁδηγὸν τῶν καλλίστων, καὶ τῶν ἄνω πρόξενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος.

<sup>118</sup> This teleological understanding of Byzantine theology is expressed beautifully by Jaroslav Pelikan: “Christ’s Passion would have been necessary even if Adam and Eve had not sinned: Because for them [i.e. the Greek Church Fathers] salvation was defined as ‘escaping the corruption with which lust has

Aristotle Papanikolaou and George E. Demacopoulos, the Eastern Fathers of the fourth century were united in their belief that the fall brought a cycle of corruption and death into the world, without conceding, as western thought was to do, that this post-lapsarian state prevented human participation in salvation.<sup>119</sup> Adam's sin therefore may have brought in death, which can lead to sin, but it did not fundamentally shape humanity thereafter.<sup>120</sup> This understanding of salvation naturally had the unintentional consequence of muting the severity of Adam's original act of sin. Rather than becoming the entire reason for Baptism, as Adam was to become in the West, Adam could be seen more sympathetically in the eyes of the Byzantines. He was one who, like any humble Christian, had the opportunity to be perfect, but was ultimately wanting.

The language used in Byzantine sources to describe the Fall, too, mitigates any shame that the story of the Fall sheds upon Adam. Typically, Byzantine authors do not center their discussion of the fall on Adam's disobedience, but on the dominating power of evil. The fourth-century bishop St. Cyril of Jerusalem uses language typical for Byzantine commentators on the Fall in his *Instructions for Catechumens*. According to Cyril, Satan, "brought many over with him in rebellion as he fell. He volleyed desire to the suffering. From him come adultery, prostitution and

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infected the world, and coming to share in the very being of God'--partial now, though real, but total in the life everlasting-- Adam and Eve, too, would have had to receive it even if they had not fallen into sin." Pelikan, *Imago Dei*, 149-150.

<sup>119</sup> Aristotle Papanikolaou and George E. Emacopoulos, *Orthodox Readings of Augustine* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2008), 31.

<sup>120</sup> John Meyendorff sees the Fall's legacy in the eyes of the Greek and Byzantine theologians as one of "mortality rather than sinfulness, sinfulness being merely a consequence of mortality." John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York, Fordham University Press, 1974), 145. Similarly, Romanides, in his study of the fathers before Augustine, also found that in the East the Fall did not create sin itself, but rather ushered in mortality, which was believed to be the breeding ground for sin. Ioannes Romanides, *The Ancestral Sin*, trans. G. Gabriel (Ridgewood: Zephyr Publishing, 1998), 157.

all that is evil. Through him Adam our forefather was expelled for his disobedience.”<sup>121</sup> Cyril’s quote is a simplified, theologically approved interpretation of the Fall meant for those just learning the basics of Christianity; and yet, it captures perfectly the nuanced understanding of Adam in Eastern sources. The focus of Cyril’s account of the Fall is Satan, and Adam, while not entirely devoid of guilt, is the object of Satan’s malice. In a homily incorrectly attributed to Eusebius of Alexandria delivered on Holy Saturday we can see the extent that blame for the Fall was associated with the devil: “He [i.e. Christ] was crucified on a tree, in order that He might erase the sin that arose through the tree. For through the tree *Satan expelled Adam* from Paradise, and through a tree the Lord admitted the thief as a citizen of paradise.”<sup>122</sup> In this homily, the association between Satan and the Fall has reached the point where the author has misattributed to Satan God’s expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden. Such descriptions suggest that the focus of the Fall is not so much on Adam’s failure, as on Evil’s success.<sup>123</sup> The Adam presented to us in these accounts is a tragic, if remote, figure. He is the object not of scorn but of pity, our ancestral casualty in larger cosmic war of salvation.

But if Adam can seem remote in the theological treatises, he comes to life in the liturgy. In the late seventh or early eighth century, the monk Andrew of Crete developed a new form of hymns known as a *canon* (κανών), which consisted of nine

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<sup>121</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses ad Illuminandos*, W.C. Reisch., 2:4: Οὗτος ἐκπεσὼν συναπέστησε πολλούς· οὗτος ἐμβάλλει τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τοῖς πειθομένοις· ἐκ τούτου μοιχεία, πορνεία, καὶ πᾶν εἶ τι κακόν. Διὰ τοῦτον ὁ προπάτωρ ἡμῶν Ἀδὰμ ἐκ παρακοῆς ἐξεβλήθη.

<sup>122</sup> Pseudo-Eusebius of Alexandria, *In Sanctam et Magnam Parasceue in Sanctam Passionem Domini*, PG 62:721: Ἐσταυρώθη ἐπὶ ξύλου, ἵνα λύσῃ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τὴν γενομένην διὰ τοῦ ξύλου. Διὰ γὰρ τοῦ ξύλου ἐξέωσε τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ὁ Σατανᾶς, καὶ διὰ ξύλου τὸν ληστήν ὁ Κύριος τοῦ παραδείσου πολίτην ἀνέδειξε.

<sup>123</sup> Rondet notes that this is in fact the common view of the earliest Church fathers, such as Justin, Tatian, Theophilus, and Tertullian. Henri Rondet, *Original Sin*, 29-36 and 61.



odes in a complex poetical form.<sup>124</sup> The *canon* became a form of liturgy used by both monks and laity early on and soon reached its apex in Andrew of Crete's magnum opus, the *Great Canon*.<sup>125</sup> The massive *Great Canon* is meant to inspire repentance through a series of first person confessions that place the worshiper in unfavorable comparison with Biblical figures, whether through the distance of the worshiper to a great figure such as Elijah, or through the similarity of the worshiper with a great sinner such as Cain.<sup>126</sup> Adam and Eve appear in the first two of the nine Odes that make up the *Great Canon*. In the first, the speaker discusses the sin of Adam and then asks, "Justly was he expelled from Eden, since Adam did not honor your one rule; but I, what will I suffer, continuously spurning your life-giving words?"<sup>127</sup> The worshiper acknowledges Adam's sin, but not only is the worshiper like Adam, he is more sinful by magnitudes. Adam may be the first sinner, but this sin is singular; the worshiper, the Christian, sins not once, but countless times. In the second Ode, Andrew blends the individuality of Adam's persona with that of the worshiper, for the first-person speaker now attributes the deeds of Adam not to a distant ancestor, but to himself:

Now I have broken that first raiment of mine that the Molder wove for me  
from my inception, and hence I lie naked, and I am ashamed.

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<sup>124</sup> For the poetry of the *canon* see Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 198.

<sup>125</sup> For the use of the *canon* by both monks and laity, see Derek Krueger, "The *Great Kanon* of Andrew of Crete, the Penitential Bible, and the Liturgical Formation of the Self in the Byzantine Dark Age," in *Between Personal and Institutional Religion*, ed. Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Lorenzo Perrone (Turnhout:Brepolis, 2013), 61. And Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986), 198-199.

<sup>126</sup> Derek Krueger's recent study on the *Great Kanon*'s relationship to the Byzantine idea of the "self" has been essential for this section. Krueger, "The *Great Kanon* of Andrew of Crete, the Penitential Bible, and the Liturgical Formation of the Self in the Byzantine Dark Age."

<sup>127</sup> Andrew of Crete, *Magnum Canon*, PG 97:1332.

I have put on my divided tunic, which the serpent wove for me with his oracle, and I am ashamed.

I have spied the fruit of the tree, and my mind has been deceived, and hence I lie naked, and I am ashamed.<sup>128</sup>

In a moment of penitent confession, Adam and the speaker have become one. In his essay on the “self” in Andrew’s *Great Canon*, Derek Krueger describes Adam’s function in the *Canon* as the archetypal sinner.<sup>129</sup> While this is certainly true, the liturgy in the *Great Canon* is yet another testament to the intimacy Byzantine worshipers felt toward Adam. Adam may be the archetypal sinner, but so is the average Christian. The liturgy expresses this perfectly, and eliminates the legitimacy of any guilt or shame the worshiper could feel toward Adam. True, Adam may have sinned greatly, but have not we all? The liturgy here demonstrates that all have fallen like Adam, just as images of the *Anastasis* demonstrate that we can all be saved through Christ. Even in the issue of the Fall, Adam is the everyman.

In each of these three major aspects of Byzantine religious culture, Adam is associated with the everyman. We are all created in God’s image, like the first-formed man; we have all fallen, like Adam the sinner; and we can all hope for Christ’s salvation, like Adam was saved from Hades. The theology that dominated the intellectual sphere of the Byzantine world afforded the Byzantines a complex perspective on Adam. This perspective saw the horrors of the Fall, but it also did not

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<sup>128</sup> Andrew of Crete, *Magnum Canon*, PG 97:1336-1337

<sup>129</sup> “Andrew’s shame recapitulates the fall of Adam, not because all have sinned in and through Adam, as the Western doctrine of original sin might argue, but because Adam functions as a type for the sinful individual.” Krueger, “The *Great Kanon* of Andrew of Crete, the Penitential Bible, and the Liturgical Formation of the Self in the Byzantine Dark Age,” 78.

fail to see the defeated figure of Adam, and to recognize him as the mirror image of the humble sinner. In Byzantium, Adam is all of us.

## Conclusion

In the course of unweaving the Adam entry, we have followed the threads through two of the most intricate and confounding elements of Byzantine society: religion and rhetoric. While the two often intersect in Byzantine texts, their collision in the Adam entry can leave a modern reader puzzled. Partly, difficulties have arisen from our incomplete knowledge of the entry's immediate context; however, by far the greatest impediment to understanding the Adam entry has been an understanding of the Biblical figure Adam.

Without a full understanding of Adam's role in Byzantium, his appearance in the *Suda's* entry on Adam is difficult to decipher. While addressing it from a purely rhetorical standpoint helps in making some sense of the entry, it does not explain the encomiastic view of Adam; for, the rhetorical aim of the entry is not to praise Adam, but rather to impart to its audience a didactic message about Christianity itself. By taking the reader from Paradise, to the Fall, to the evils of the world, to Christ's descent into Hell, and to the restoration of Adam in paradise, the author plays with a theme that transcends a mere account of Adam. Moreover, he digresses from Adam's life and does not include key Biblical details that we would expect to find if praise of Adam were truly the principal goal of the entry. If the ultimate goal of the entry is not merely to praise Adam, but to foray into a larger Christian theme, we cannot explain the author's encomiastic portrayal of Adam in purely rhetorical terms. Instead, we must turn to the role of Adam in Byzantine culture.

As we have seen, Adam could be the object of high praise and heated censure in Byzantine culture. While his status as a reflection of the *Imago Dei* won Adam high regard in theological writings, the same theologians could just as easily chastise him as the first sinner in the very same work. In the image of *Anastasis* we find the key to understanding the Byzantine association of Adam. In this ubiquitous image, Adam stands as a representation of mankind, dependent on the glorious figure of Christ to pull him out of Hades. Humanity, like Adam, can be praised at times for acting in accordance with the image of God in which we were created. But, like Adam, humanity must suffer the tragic fate of their sins and depend on Christ for their salvation. The Byzantines were ever conscious of their kinship with Adam and looked to him as a representation of themselves. He was the everyman.

The author of the Adam entry, then, does not attempt to change his audience's view of Adam, but instead manipulates for his own homiletic ends an understanding of Adam already present within Byzantine culture. By encasing his message on Christian history with an encomium on Adam, the author is able to capture the beauty of humanity's place in the cosmos. Through praising Adam as the *Imago Dei*, the author sings the praises of mankind's pre-fallen state of harmony with God in the garden. Mankind was intelligent, pure, and a reflection of the image of God. But, with the gathering storm clouds of Satan's rise, the author shifts from encomium to invective. Satan overthrows mankind, and the paradise of a world ruled by a mankind in step with God's will is replaced by a world ruled by Satan's henchmen. When we next see Adam, he is in Hades, and Christ Himself grabs him by

the hand to save him. Mankind is rescued from the depths and restored to heaven. So is the story of Adam, so is the story of man.

Furthermore, the author has not emphasized Adam's state as sinner to be reprimanded. Instead, the author sees the beauty of man's place in creation. Mankind's story can be tragic. Dark days fall upon mankind and he is defeated by the devil. But, to our author, this does not compromise the overall goodness that mankind possesses through God. Mankind maintains the image of God, even if he grows distant from it.<sup>130</sup> He has fallen, but he receives salvation as Christ heroically defeats the Dragon (δρακών). And, at last, mankind is received into heaven, into eternal congress with the Divine.<sup>131</sup>

The last lines of the entry reveal the extent to which the author of the Adam entry takes pride in the human experience, as conceived in Byzantine religious terms. After describing the bliss of heaven, the very *telos* of human existence, the author writes, "Truly let the first-formed man be known as the cause of this writing, according to my measure and reckoning, as a river, a spring and sea, and root and branches and shoots, and the originator of all human nature, the first fruit and first-fruit of the offering."<sup>132</sup> The idea that Adam is a sort of root is not new. When discussing the Fall, St. Cyril compares the consequences of the Fall, to a blight on the roots of a plant: "Death overran by way of the likeness of Adam the entire race born through him, just as when a plant suffers blight at its roots, it is in some way

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<sup>130</sup> *Sermo in Adam* 5.

<sup>131</sup> *Sermo in Adam* 11.

<sup>132</sup> *Sermo in Adam* 12.

necessary that the shoots born from him wither.”<sup>133</sup> Yet, for our author, Adam is not to be loathed as the root of sin, but loved as the root of human nature. Moreover, the shoots that spring from Adam are not to be spurned because they are corrupt, but admired because of their potential to overcome that corruption. This is a powerful, almost humanistic view, and one that is rooted in the beauty of humanity’s place within Christian cosmic history.

This view of human kind, encased as it is within an artistic rhetorical form, renders the Adam entry a uniquely Byzantine work. The author of the Adam entry plays with Eastern Christian tropes and Byzantine cultural associations in order to create a vision of human history that could scarcely arise in another cultural or religious context. Moreover, the author pours this content into a complex, and particularly Byzantine, rhetorical mould. The mould itself evolves from Classical rhetorical forms, Christian hagiography, and the Christian *Vita*. In a way that could only come from a brilliant Byzantine rhetorician, the rhetoric of the entry merges on the poetic. By manipulating a view of Adam specific to Eastern Christianity in a rhetorical form specific to Byzantium, the author of the Adam entry has created a work that cannot be dislodged from its context.

It was this very context that rendered the Adam entry indecipherable at the outset of this study. Without a detailed examination of the rhetoric from which the Adam entry emerged, it would have been impossible to discover that the author’s intentions lay not in praising Adam, but in discussing the human place in Christian

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<sup>133</sup> Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on Romans*, PG 74:785:.. Ἐπιτρέχοντος τοῦ θανάτου καθ’ ὁμοιότητα τὴν Ἀδὰμ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πᾶν γένος, ὥσπερ φυτοῦ παθόντος βλάβος εἰς ῥίζαν, πᾶσά πως ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότας μαραίνεισθαι κλῶνας.

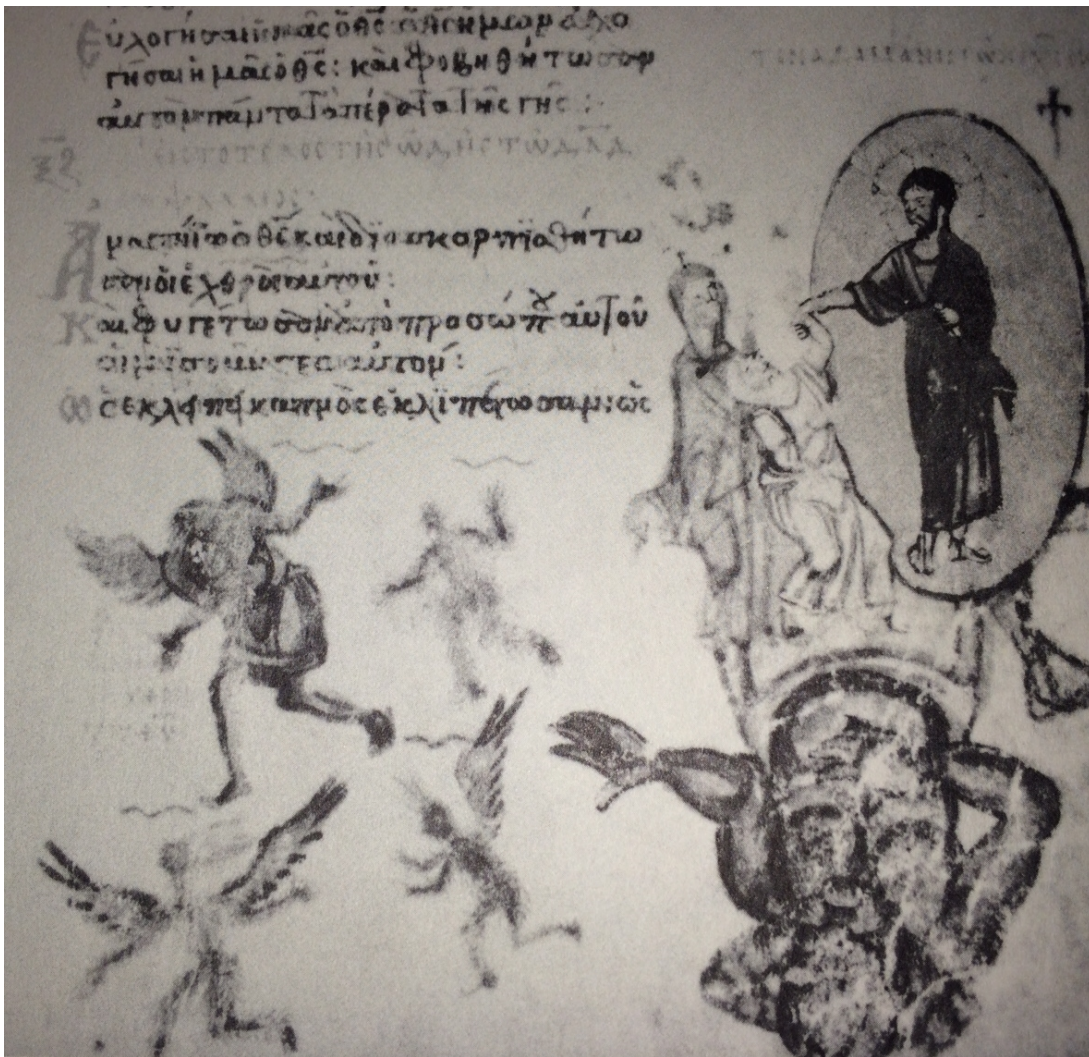
history. From there, it became necessary to investigate the role of Adam in Byzantine culture in order to explain why the author was able to use an encomium of Adam not as a rhetorical end, but as a rhetorical means. Ultimately, the Adam entry testifies to the complexity of Byzantine culture. It can be all too easy to project our modern cultural biases on the Byzantines, especially when their works seem deceptively familiar. In the case of Adam, this has sorely reduced our appreciation for the nuance of the Byzantine relation to Adam, who was as dear to the Byzantines' as his sin was reprehensible. It is a difficult position to hold, perhaps; but, it is a uniquely Byzantine one, and one more than a little inspiring.



## Images

Figure 1

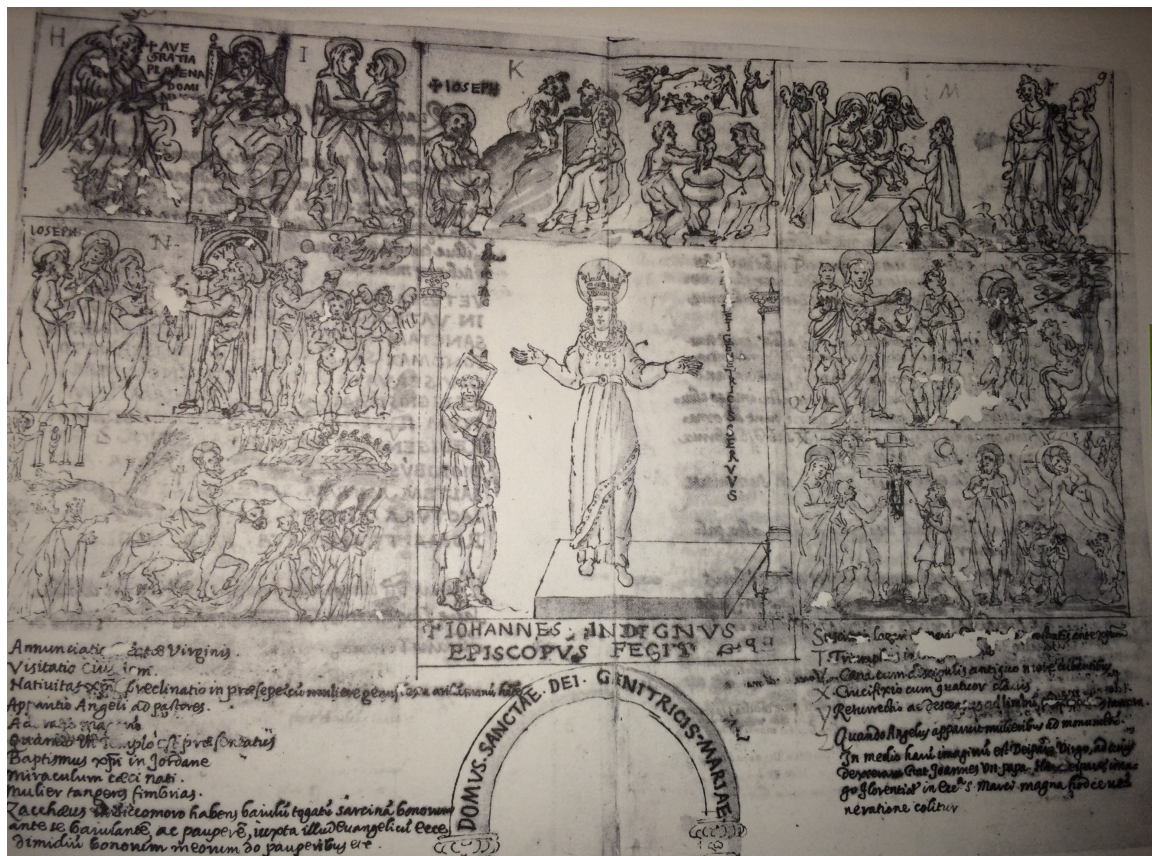
Among the earliest representations of the Anastasis from a Byzantine book of Psalms. Christ grabs Adam by the hand and rescues him from a representation of Hades. The description of the scene in Greek is among the earliest to use the term *Anastasis*: Τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀνίστων ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκ τοῦ ᾍδου: “Christ Resurrecting Adam from Hades.”



Moscow. Historical Museum. Chludov Psalter. Cod. gr. 129, fol. 63, Ps. 67:2. The *Anastasis* of Adam. Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, fig. 44a.

Figure 2

One of the two earliest depictions of the *Anastasis*. Here the *Anastasis* is already included in the Christological cycle (bottom right). Though this manuscript is from Rome, the image of the *Anastasis* is thought to have been an import to the West from Constantinople.



Vatican. Biblioteca. Cod. Barb. Lat. 2733, fols. 90-91. St. Peter's Basilica. Oratory of Pope John VII. Drawing by Grimaldi. Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, fig. 15.



Figure 3

A tenth-century depiction of the *Anastasis*. The image is typical of the more standardized image that arises in the tenth century. Christ grabs Adam by the hand and takes him up from the grave.



Leningrad. Public Library. Lectionary. Cod. gr. 21, fol. I. The *Anastasis*. Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, fig. 62.

## Appendix

The following is a translation of the “λόγος” in the Suda Entry on Adam (*Suidas* A 425). I have divided the entry into twelve sections or paragraphs, which I have used throughout the main text to refer to specific passages within the entry. I have also given this section of the entry the title *Sermo in Adam*, or *A Speech on Adam*, which was inspired by the term “λόγος” or “speech” that the author called his composition.

### *Sermo in Adam*

[1] Ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ χειρὶ θεοῦ πλασθεὶς καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν μορφωθείς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τε καὶ κτίσαντος, ὁ καὶ τιμηθεὶς τὴν εἰς παράδεισον οἴκησιν. οὗτος δικαίως ἂν πρῶτος καλοῖτο σοφὸς ὡς πρωτόκτιστον ἄγαλμα καὶ εἰκὼν οὕσα θεόγραφος, ὡς τῶν χαρίτων ὅλων ὑπάρχων ἀνάπλεως καὶ πάντα καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκίβδηλα περιφέρων τὰ ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος αἰσθητήρια. μαρμαρυγαὶ γάρ τινες, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς ἀπαστράπτουσαι καὶ θείων ἐννοιῶν τε καὶ ἐνεργειῶν πλήθουσαι κατὰ πᾶσαν εἰσέτρεχον φύσιν εὐστόχως καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐκάστης πλεονέκτημα φθάνουσαι.

[2]: Ὅς οὐ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐδοκιμάσθη τῶν τὰς κρίσεις πολλάκις ἐπισφαλῶς ποιουμένων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ τοῦ πᾶσαν γνῶσιν καὶ κρίσιν ὀρθῶς ποιουμένου καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τὰς ἐννοίας κινηθῆναι παρὰ τῆς ὠδινούσης τὰ τοιαῦτα ψυχῆς καὶ ἀποτικτούσης νοήματα. καὶ ἡ φησιν ἡ γραφή: ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς πάντα τὰ κτήνη καὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ ἔρπετά καὶ πετεινὰ καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἰδεῖν, τί καλέσει αὐτά. καὶ ὁ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀδὰμ, τοῦτο ὄνομα αὐτῷ. τί τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης καὶ μαρτυρίας ἀριδηλότερον; τί τῆς σοφίας ταύτης καὶ διαγνώσεως ὑψηλότερον; ἐκάλεσεν ὄνόματα τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἐκάστου ζώου ὥσπερ ὑπογραφόμενος, οὐ μελετήσας, οὐ προσκεψάμενος, οὐδὲν τι προπεπονθὼς τῶν ὅσα μεταμανθάνουσιν ἄνθρωποι. καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ἀναρίθμων γενεῶν παραδραμουσῶν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν οὐδεὶς ὑπαλλάξαι κἂν τοῦ τυχόντος ζώου τὸ ὄνομα, οὐδὲ τῆς ἐκείνου δράξασθαι μεγαλονοίας καὶ διαγνώσεως. μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν μένουσιν ἅπαντες οἱ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐσπαρμένοι τὴν γῆν ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἐκείνου στοιχοῦντες ἀμεταθέτοις θεσπίσμασι.

[3]: Καὶ οὐδὲ μέχρι τούτων ἔσθη τοῦ πρωτογόνου ἀνθρώπου τὸ ὑπερβάλλον ἐν πᾶσιν ἀξίωμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπερμάτων καὶ φυτῶν διαφορὰς ῥιζῶν τε καὶ βοτανῶν δυνάμεις, καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἀντίληψιν καὶ θεραπείαν ἡ φύσις ἐκάστῳ προσαρμόττει τῶν ζώων, διέκρινέ τε καὶ ἐσάφησεν. οὗτος καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πρῶτος ἰδὼν οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐκ στόματος ἀνθρωπίνου περὶ ταύτης ἐφθέγγετο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ τινος θείας ὁμφῆς ἐνηχούμενος εὐστόχως τὸ πολυῦμνητον ἐκεῖνο καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἀπεφοίβασε λόγιον: τοῦτο νῦν ὅστωιν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου. αὕτη κληθήσεται γυνή, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἐλήφθη.”

[4]: Οὗτος τοίνυν ἐστὶν ὁ δοκιμάσας ἕκαστα καὶ πᾶσι κανόνας καὶ στάθμας ἀκριβεῖς καὶ ὄρους ἀναντιρρήτους ἐναρμολογούμενος. τούτου τέχνη καὶ γράμματα, τούτου ἐπιστῆμαι λογικαὶ τε καὶ ἄλογοι, τούτου προφητεῖαι, ἱερουργίαι καὶ καθαρισμοὶ καὶ νόμοι γραπτοὶ τε καὶ ἄγραφοι, τούτου πάντα εὐρήματα καὶ διδάγματα, καὶ ὅσαι κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀναγκαῖαι χρεῖαι τε καὶ δαίται.

[5]: Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος ἀνδριάς, τὸ θεόκλητον ἄγαλμα, ἀφ' οὗπερ ἀπευθύνονται πᾶσαι ἀνθρώπων ἀγαλματοουργίαι, κἂν πρὸς τὸ ἥττον μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκπίπτωσιν ἐκείνου τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ θεοειδοῦς ἀπεικάσματος μηδεμίαν ἔχοντος ἀφορμὴν, ἧς ἂν ἐπιλάβοιτο ὁ μετ' ἐκεῖνον διαπλαττόμενος ἢ ζωγραφούμενος, ἕως ὁ παλαμναῖος καὶ ἀποστάτης καὶ πλάνος διάβολος τοῦτον ἐξεκύλισεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἰδρύσεώς τε καὶ στάσεως καὶ κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς εἶασε φέρεσθαι πρὸς βαρathρώδεις τινὰς καὶ ἀλαμπεῖς χώρους καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀμειδίτων τοῦ ἄδου κευθμώνων ἐγγίζοντας.

[6]: Κάντεϋθεν ἤρξατο φύσις ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων παραχαράττεσθαι καὶ διακιβδηλεύεσθαι<sup>134</sup> καὶ τυποῦσθαι τοῖς τοῦ τυράννου μορφώμασί τε καὶ σχήμασιν. ἐντεϋθεν ἡ νόθος σοφία τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔλαβε, τῆς θείας δραπετευσάσης καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀναπτάσης, ὅθεν τὸ πρότερον ἦν ἀφορμήσασα. ὅθεν ὁ πλάνος τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σφετερισάμενος ὄνομα εἰς πολλὰ κατεμέρισε, Κρόνους τε καὶ Ζῆνας καὶ Ποσειδῶνας ἑαυτὸν μετακαλῶν: καὶ τὸ δὴ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον, εἰς ὀνόματα θήλεια τε καὶ ἄσεμνα τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ ἄρρητον συγκατασπάσαι φύσιν ὁ ἀλιτήριος κατετόλμησεν, εἷς τε τὰς Ῥέας ἐκείνας καὶ Ἀφροδίτας καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ εἰς ἄλλας μυρίας καὶ ἄλλοκότους ἀλόγων ιδέας τε καὶ μορφὰς, ἃς ὁ κακίας δημιουργὸς καὶ τὴν ἀποστασίαν νοσήσας ἐπέχρωσέ τε καὶ διεχάραξεν.

[7]: Ἐντεϋθεν Αἰγυπτίων τὰ περὶ Ὅσιριν καὶ Τυφῶνα καὶ Ἴσιν μοχθηρὰ διηγήματα καὶ Περσῶν μαγικὰ μαγγανεύματα καὶ Βραχμάνων γυμνοσοφιστίαι καὶ ἄκαιροι φαντασῖαι καὶ ἡ θαυματομένη Σκυθῶν ῥῆσις καὶ τὰ Θρακῶν ὄργια καὶ οἱ Φρυγῶν αὐλοὶ καὶ Κορύβαντες. ἐντεϋθεν ἡ Χαλδαίων ἀστρονομία ἢ σφαλερά τε καὶ πολυώδυνος. ἐντεϋθεν ἡ τοῦ ψεύδους λοχεύτρια ποίησις, ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ληρημάτων σεμνομυθία. ἐντεϋθεν Ὀρφεὺς τε καὶ Ὅμηρος καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀθεμίτων γονῶν ζωγράφος Ἡσίοδος. ἐντεϋθεν ἡ θάλητος δόξα καὶ ὁ κλεινὸς Πυθαγόρας καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Σωκράτης καὶ Πλάτων, τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίων Ἀκαδημίας πολυθρύλητον σεμνολόγημα. ἐντεϋθεν οἱ Παρμενίδαι καὶ Πρωταγόραι καὶ Ζήνωνες. ἐντεϋθεν αἱ Στοαὶ καὶ οἱ Ἄρειοι πάγοι καὶ Ἐπικούρειοι. ἐντεϋθεν οἱ τραγῳδῶν θρῆνοι καὶ κοπετοὶ καὶ τὰ κωμικῶν παίγνια καὶ τωθάσματα. ἐντεϋθεν τὰ δολερὰ τοῦ Λοξίου καὶ ψευδηγόρου θεσπίσματα καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν κομψευμάτων ἐρεσχελία καὶ τερατεία.

[8]: Καὶ ἵνα μὴ μακρὸν ἀποτείνω τὸν λόγον εἰς σαπρούς τε καὶ ὀδωδότας μύθους ἐνασχολούμενος, πᾶσαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὴν κτίσιν ὁ πλάνος ἐμφορτισάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ὑπὸ χεῖρα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς ἀνδράποδον καὶ διερχόμενος τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν καὶ περιπατῶν τὴν γῆν καὶ ὡς ὅλα πάντα κατέχων, ὡς αὐτὸς πού φησιν ἀλαζονευόμενος,

<sup>134</sup> This appears to be the first attestation of this word.

ᾧετο δεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον θήσιν ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἔσεσθαι ὅμοιος τῷ Ὑψίστῳ.

[9]: Ἄλλ' ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος ὁ προαιώνιος οἰκτεῖρας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς ἡπατημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς κόλπων ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε καὶ σαρκωθεὶς ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας, καὶ διὰ τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ καταβαλὼν τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ καταβάς εἰς τὰ κατώτατα μέρη τῆς γῆς ἐκεῖθεν εἵλκυσε τὸν παραπεσόντα πρωτόπλαστον, ἀποδοὺς τῇ εἰκόνι τὸ πρῶτον κάλλος καὶ τῇ φύσει τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀξίωμα.

[10]: Κάντεῦθεν ἠφάνισται πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ τυράννου δυναστεία καὶ συμμορφία τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβείας φωτὸς διαυγάσαντος πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει τῶν ἡλιακῶν μαρμαρυγῶν τηλαυγέστερον. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ κατὰ θεὸν σοφία πάλιν διέλαμψε καὶ γλώσσας ἀλιέων ἐστόμωσε καὶ τῶν σοφῶν διδασκάλους τοὺς ἀσόφους εἰργάσατο ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῆς βροντῆς γόνος, τὸ: ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἐξ οὐρανίων νεφελῶν ἀπαστράψας ἐβρόντησε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐλάμπρυνε. καὶ τούτου τοῦ φωτὸς Παῦλος εἰς τρίτον οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρεται καὶ θεᾶται τὰ ἀθέατα καὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων ὑπακούει λογίων καὶ διατρέχει πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ὡς πτηνὸς καὶ ἀέριος τὸν Ἰησοῦν εὐαγγελιζόμενος.

[11]: Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Πέτρος τὸν Χριστὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος ὠνόμασε καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν πιστεύεται βασιλείας, ἵνα ἀνοίγῃ μὲν τοῖς πιστοῖς, ἀποκλείῃ δὲ τοῖς ἀπίστοις τῶν θείων ἀνακτόρων τὴν εἴσοδον. ἐντεῦθεν ἀγέλαι μαρτύρων καταβάλλουσιν εἰδῶλα καὶ τρέχουσιν ἑτοιμοὶ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον, ὡς στεφάνους τὰς πληγὰς καὶ ὡς πορφύρας τὰ ἑαυτῶν αἵματα περιφέροντες οἱ καλλίνικοι.”

[12]: Ἔστω γοῦν ὁ πρωτόπλαστος ἀρχηγὸς τοῦδε τοῦ γράμματος, κατὰ γε τὸν ἐμὸν ὅρον καὶ λόγον, ὡς ποταμὸς πηγὴ τε καὶ θάλαττα καὶ ρίζα καὶ κλάδοι καὶ ὄρπηκες καὶ πάσης ὑπάρχων τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀπαρχὴ καὶ πρωτόλειον.”

## *A Speech on Adam*

[1]: The first man, he who was molded by the hand of God and formed according to the image and likeness of his Craftsman and Creator, who was even worthy to have Paradise as his home. He may justly be called the first wise man, since he is a first-formed statue and a God-wrought image, entirely full of all the graces that exist and displaying all the pure and unadulterated faculties of both soul and body. For some beams, so to say, after flashing forth from his soul and after being filled with divine conceptions and energies run in well-aimed and unerringly through all his nature, overtaking the excellence of each thing.

[2]: And he has not been judged through Men, who make decisions that are often prone to error, but rather through the God of everything, who makes every judgment and decision correctly and through the soul, which labors over such things and gives birth to ideas, before stirring his mind to action. As Scripture says: *God made the herds and the wild beasts that crawl and that fly and he led them before Adam to see what he would call them. And what Adam called an animal, that was its name.*<sup>135</sup> What is more famous than that sound and testimony? What is mightier than that wisdom and insight? He called each living thing by name according to its very nature and according to its substance as if he were describing them, not straining himself, not investigating, troubled by none of the presuppositions that have taken over the minds of men. And although many and innumerable species ran before him, no one has been able to change the name of any living being, nor to grasp his magnanimity and insight. Rather, all men begotten over all the earth adhere to his inalterable pronouncements.

[3]: And the first-begotten man's outstanding judgment in all things extends not merely to these things, but he also perceived and comprehended the variance of seeds and plants as well as the powers of roots and herbs, and however the nature for each adapts to the defense and healing of living beings. And he was the first to see woman and uttered in inspiration that oft sung and miraculous oracle, as if not from a human mouth but as from some divine voice resonating precisely: *"This now is bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh. She will be called 'woman,' since she has been taken from man."*<sup>136</sup>

[4]: And he is the one who has approved of each thing and has adapted standards and precise rules and undeniable boundaries to everything. Crafts and words are his, his are sciences, both rhetorical and non-rhetorical, his are prophecies, sacrifices and purifications and laws both written and unwritten, his are all discoveries and instructions, and the sorts of necessities and habits of living necessary for life.

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<sup>135</sup> Genesis 2:20

<sup>136</sup> Genesis 2:23

[5]: He is the first one in human form, the image summoned by God, from whom each creation of a human image receives its model, though it falls more and more to a level inferior to that blessed and Godlike copy which no sculptor or painter could use as a starting point, until the murderer and apostate and deceiving devil overthrew him from both his proper abode and state and caused him to be born headlong into those abyssal and lightless places approaching even as far as the most gloomy vaults of Hades.

[6]: And from there the nature of men began to be debased and corrupted and was shaped by the form and figure of the Tyrant. From there the bastard wisdom took its beginning, the divine slipping away and flying toward heaven, from where it had been incepted. And after that the deceiver usurped the name of God and cut it into many parts, calling himself Kronos and Zeus and Poseidon; and, the most unholy thing of all, the sinner dared to debase the blessed and unspeakable nature to female and ignoble names, and into those "Reas" and "Aphrodites" and "Athenas" and into myriad others and unusual kinds and forms of irrationalities, which the creator of evil and the sufferer of apostasy invented and carved out.

[7]: From there those lascivious tales of the Egyptians about Osiris and Typhon and Isis, and the magical trickery of Persians and the gymnosophistry and importunate fantasies of Brahmen and the ridiculous legend of the Skythians and the passions of the Thracians and the flutes of the Phrygians and Korybantes. From there the perilous and painful astronomy of the Chaldaians. From there poetry, the midwife of lies, the pride of Hellene nonsense. From there Orpheus and Homer and the artist of unlawful procreation Hesiod. From there the opinion of Thales and the famed Pythagoras and the wise Socrates and Plato, the notorious gem of the Athenian Academy. From there those like Parmenides and Protagoras and Zeno. From there the Stoics and the Areopagites and the Epicureans. From there the dirges and wails of tragedy and the sport and jeers of Comedians. From there the deceit of Apollo and the oracles of liars and the remaining gibberish of Hellenes inventions and fairy tales.

[8]: And--lest in my digression I extend my speech (λόγος) into rotten and putrid myths--- the deceiver, after assuming the burden of all creation and taking Man under his hand as a slave, as he passes through the land below Heaven and treads round the earth and watches over everything as if they were his eggs, as he himself might say in boast, he feels that he must take his own thrown above the clouds of the heavens-- that he will be the equal to the Highest One.

[9]: But, the only begotten Son of God and Logos who predates time, having taken pity on the man, since he was deceived by the Dragon from the bosom of the Father, emptied Himself and became incarnate through the Holy Spirit and through the Holy Virgin and Theotokos Mary. And after defeating the Antagonist through the esteemed cross and His passion, and after going down into the deepest parts of the earth, He freed the first-formed one, who had gone astray, restoring the first beauty to his image and the original worthiness to his nature.



[10]: And from there all Tyrant's dominion and compliance to him disappeared, and the penetrating light of holiness shined forth to all creation more radiantly than the beams of the sun. From this light the wisdom from God gleamed once again and gave voice to fisherman and made the unwise the teachers of the wise. From there is the bolt of thunder: the "*In the beginning was the word*"<sup>137</sup> flashed forth and thundered from heavenly clouds and illuminated everything in God's dominion. And from this light Paul is taken up into the Third Heaven and sees the invisible and hears the inaudible words and runs over all the earth spreading the Good News of Jesus as if he were winged and belonging to the upper air.

[11]: From there Peter named Christ the Son of the Living God and is entrusted with the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, so that he might open the entrance to the Divine Palace for the faithful, but bar it before the unfaithful. From there the herds of martyrs throw down the idols and rush toward death entirely prepared, triumphantly bearing their blows like crowns and their own blood like purple.

[12]: Truly let the first-formed man be known as the cause of this writing, according to my measure and reckoning, as a river, a spring and sea, and root and branches and shoots, and the originator of all human nature, the first fruit and first-fruit of the offering.

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<sup>137</sup> John 1:1

## Bibliography

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